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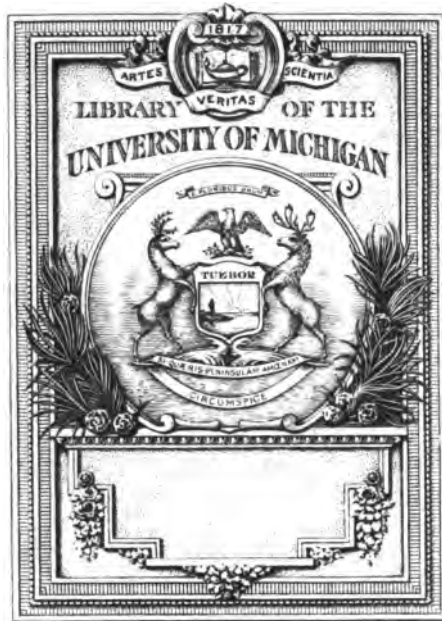
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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES



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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES



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BENEDICT XV

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HISTORICAL
RECORDS AND STUDIES

EDITED BY
CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, LL.D.

VOLUME IX

JUNE, 1916

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1916



Portrait of a man in clerical attire, likely a cardinal or bishop, standing and gesturing with his right hand raised. The background is dark and indistinct.

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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

BENEDICT XV

BY REV. JOHN J. WYNNE, S.J.

The successor of Pius X is a Genoese, and no doubt has the traditional character of his countrymen, the most forward and progressive among Italians, if not of all the countries that coast the Mediterranean. Elected on September 3, 1914, the name he has chosen to indicate the character he would like to give his administration, Benedict XV, means that he will strive to blend the best that was in the régimes of Leo XIII and Pius X. The former, while not neglecting the spiritual interests of the Church, threw his chief weight into its temporal administration and succeeded in raising it very much in the estimation of the civil governments and of peoples generally, even those that are not Catholic. The latter devoted his chief attention to domestic and spiritual affairs.

The last Pope Benedict was eminent in both spheres. Distinguished for his scholarship, he was also noted for his piety; his authority was quite as personal as it was official. He was one of the greatest of canonists: he was an ardent reformer of the Liturgy: he was most successful in his conciliar policies with the European rulers and with the heads of the Eastern Church.

The long and very intimate association of Benedict XV with Cardinal Rampolla as his secretary in the Nunciature of Madrid, and later in the offices of Secretary of State, make it easy to forecast his attitude to the civil powers as well as to the Churches of the East. The policies of Leo XIII, shaped as they were largely by the distinguished Rampolla, will no doubt be renewed by the late Cardinal's faithful secretary; while the works that Pius X had most at heart, the codification of the laws of the Church and their adaptation to modern conditions,

as well as the reform of the Liturgy, particularly of church music, will surely be carried to completion.

The likelihood that the new Pontiff will continue in his administration the character of Leo and of Pius is confirmed by the fact that his experience has admirably fitted him to do so. After having served in the capacity of private secretary to Cardinal Rampolla and to various Roman Congregations, he was made Archbishop of Bologna and successfully administered that diocese for the past seven years. Under his care were about 550,000 persons, nearly 400 parishes, and 1,000 priests. He has thus acquired through life familiarity with the administrative functions with which Leo was so conversant, and with the pastoral charges for which Pius was noted. In this way, besides continuing the succession of the long line of Roman Pontiffs, Benedict XV is the two hundred and sixtieth of the line, he will improve the rich inheritance he has, not only from the famous predecessor whose name he takes, but from the two just preceding him who have left him such high ideals to emulate. Already he has impressed the world by his sincere and earnest endeavors to bring about the cessation of the war in Europe, and his efforts on behalf of prisoners on both sides have been successful with the governments on both sides.

Bologna is known as a cardinalitial see. Since 1582 nearly all its archbishops have been cardinals. Pius X, however, had little regard for such precedents unless the occupants of such sees were men of eminent virtue and ability, and this speaks well for the exceptional merit of Mgr. Della Chiesa. Bologna was also the birthplace of Popes: Honorius II, Lucius II, Alexander V, Gregory XIII and Innocent IX.

THE SULPICIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.

CHAPTER VII

THE SULPICIAN MISSIONARY BISHOPS AND MISSIONARIES

In one particular M. Olier had deviated from the principal aim and ideal of the Company he founded. The seventeenth century was for the Church of France, as well as for the Church in general, a great missionary period. To the West as well as to the East bands of zealous, nay heroic men, set forth to bring the glad tidings of the Gospel. M. Olier did not resist this universal current. As we have seen he sent his brethren to Montreal to share in the glorious work of conquering the children of the redman and gathering them into Christ's fold. When therefore the wild fanaticism of the French Revolution drove out a large part of M. Olier's sons to seek refuge in America, the never quailing chief of the Company, M. Emery, saw in M. Olier's settlement of Montreal a warrant for sending his confrères forth as missionaries to gain over to Christ's flock both the whitemen and the redmen of the new world.

We must not be understood as representing M. Emery as an obstinate idealist. If M. Olier's example was a warrant to him for making missionaries of his brethren, we do not forget that many and weighty reasons almost compelled him to embrace this policy. With difficulty did the new Republic maintain one seminary. Only a few of the sons of M. Olier could be employed directly in the cause of sacerdotal training. On the other hand, the cry for missionaries was loud and insistent from every quarter. The forests of Maine, the islands of the Great Lakes and the prairies of the Mississippi valley all clamored for black robes to spread the Gospel among the native children of the land. The adventurous countrymen of Champlain and De La Salle craved for missionaries to succeed

Brébeuf, Jogues, Marquette and Hennepin, and the young American Church, following in the footsteps of her European sisters, was keenly conscious of her duty to place her doctrines and her example before the separated brethren who after centuries of persecution had opened Columbia's hospitable doors to Catholics as well as to other Christians.

Now the Sulpicians were the only apostles of Catholicism at the time in a position to satisfy these demands and to accept these invitations. Moreover they were fully qualified to undertake these missions. They had the zeal and courage needed by the Indian missionary, the pluck and mental agility required to deal with the *coureurs de bois*, and the polish, gentleness and learning likely to impress the Anglo-American colonist. M. Emery, therefore, from the beginning did not hesitate to urge the Sulpician gentlemen whom he sent to the United States to devote themselves to these missionary duties. These arrived in Baltimore in 1792. In the same year, we find them busy in the service of French, English and Indians in the northeast as well as on the banks of the Mississippi. We have already seen with what readiness and zeal MM. Flaget, Dilhet, Sicard and Richard betook themselves to their several fields of labor. These were only the pioneers and most of them only served the cause of Christ as plain soldiers. But circumstances and Providence had ordained that the gentlemen of St. Sulpice were to be officers and leaders of the throngs which were to extend the influence of the Church in our great Republic. Since their arrival in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the Sulpicians were unquestionably the strongest body of churchmen in the country. The old Jesuit apostles were growing few and feeble through age. Accidental arrivals from divers countries of Europe were of various merit and unfit for concerted effort, and their learning for the most part was not a striking feature in their equipment, while naturally enough their manners were marked by energy rather than by elegance.

In most respects the Sulpicians presented a distinct contrast to these accidental apostles. They were met by American gentlemen as representatives of the faithful allies of struggling

America. Learning was their profession; they were dedicated to a life of scholarship. They claimed the sympathies of the Americans as educators. Controversy they avoided as much as possible, but when it did come their intellectual war was carried on in a way that convinced their adversaries that the conquest they sought was peace and agreement. In France, while they sought retirement on principle, many of them had been by circumstance brought into contact with the scholars and genteel world of pre-Revolutionary times. Besides all these attractions they were strangers, not Englishmen, and the very imperfection with which they spoke the English language added piquancy, interest and charm to their conversation. Above all they were models of Christian life, not only modest and retired, but ever ready to do service to friend and foe, charitable without narrowness, zealous without aggressiveness, elegant without effeminacy, dignified without pride.

It goes without saying that such men were almost predestined to become leaders in the young Church of the new world, and it would not be right to say that it was at all remarkable to find a large proportion of the early prelates of the American Church taken from the ranks of the pious and learned sons of St. Sulpice. It was only natural. Their lives and their gentle achievements were not the least part of the history of St. Sulpice in America, though their elevation to the episcopate, of course, to some extent broke the ties between them and their Company. However, though no one felt this rupture more than these loyal Sulpicians themselves, still in some respects it was more apparent than real. They ceased to be Sulpicians but the spirit of St. Sulpice never departed from them. They remained the same zealous, modest lovers of learning; they were animated by the same earnestness in the cause of clerical education and in truth of all education; they were the same indefatigable laborers, they led the same democratic life of simplicity which distinguished them as seminary professors. The history of the Sulpicians would be incomplete without a sketch of these devoted and noble representatives of their Company and the Church.

I

RIGHT REVEREND BENEDICT JOSEPH FLAGET, S.S.

The first member of M. Olier's Society to become the shepherd of a flock in the United States was in many ways, heart and soul, a typical Sulpician. We speak of Bishop Flaget. The command of the Holy Father severed his immediate connection with his brethren, but to the end of his life the principles and instincts which characterized a true Sulpician filled his heart and guided his actions. Bishop Flaget was an Auvergnat and was born in the small town of Contournat in 1763. He was brought up by the Sulpicians and joined the Company at the early age of twenty. Even before his ordination in 1788 he was professor of dogma at Nantes in Brittany, and immediately after his ordination we find him as a professor of the theological faculty at Angers, where he remained until his departure for Baltimore, in 1792. He came to the United States in the prime of his manhood, a thorough Sulpician by education and by practice. Though his family was not distinguished, his parents being simple farmers, his Sulpician education had made of him a man of well dignified manners. Both his parents died early, his father in fact before Benedict was born. Yet the son was tall and strong, of an impressive appearance. Like all of his Sulpician brethren he was habitually gentle and affable in his bearing, though in case of need he could be energetic and authoritative. In short, nature had endowed him with the physical, mental and moral qualities of a zealous, successful and holy missionary, while both nature and education fitted him for a ruler of men. Withal he was humorous himself and appreciative of humor in others and this humor left him neither amid the hardships of travel nor in the throes of the cholera. He was singularly modest, and his humility filled his mind with doubt of having the learning needed by a bishop, though he had taught theology for well nigh ten years. That he was a good disciplinarian was a fixed tradition at St. Mary's College, Baltimore.

When in 1792 M. Flaget reached the American shore, he was sent, according to the wishes of M. Emery, to the Illinois coun-



RT. REV. B. J. FLAGET, D.D.

try and for a time had his headquarters at Vincennes. But he did not remain there very long. In 1795 Bishop Carroll recalled him and made him vice-president of Georgetown College where he stayed till 1798. Our readers will recall M. Flaget's voyage to Havana and his return to Baltimore in 1801. Here he became a member of the faculty of St. Mary's Academy, while no doubt he, like other Sulpicians, aided in the pastoral administration of the cathedral parish. In 1808 duty called him for a time to the mountain college at Emmitsburg. While here suspecting nothing, he was almost overwhelmed by the receipt of a papal Bull naming him the first Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky. Bishop Carroll had suggested him for this position which practically committed to his charge the entire Northwest to Michigan, and extended southward so as to include Tennessee. Bardstown was made a see at the same time that New York, Philadelphia and Boston were erected into bishoprics.

Bishop Carroll thought M. Flaget especially fitted for the see of Bardstown partly because of his virtues, partly because of his remarkable qualities as a ruler and partly also because of his acquaintance with the country with whose spiritual government he was to be entrusted. But M. Flaget was wholly unconscious of all this. He was convinced that neither his theological learning nor his other well-tryed qualities fitted him for the position of bishop. Besides had he not promised never to aspire to an episcopal see and never to accept one except by peremptory orders of the Holy Father? When therefore the news of his elevation reached him at Emmitsburg, he hurried down to Baltimore and set every expedient in motion to nullify the Bull. The first man he met on reaching the Seminary was M. David, whom rumor had designated for the see of Bardstown. He took the bishop-elect by the hand, congratulated him and offered to go to Kentucky to assist him. M. Flaget thanked him for his offer, assuring him that had M. David been named Bishop of Bardstown he would have offered his own services to him. Then M. Flaget asked the advice of the other Baltimore Sulpicians. They prayed and fasted for several days and

then resolved that every effort should be made to prevent the misfortune which threatened M. Flaget. They went to Bishop Carroll, told him of their prayers and fasting and begged him to use his utmost efforts to turn aside the threatened catastrophe. The bishop listened patiently and then assured them that he had also prayed and not only he but the Holy Father. The result of these protestations of M. Flaget and his brethren was that Bishop Carroll wrote both to M. Emery and to the Pope. Meantime, M. Flaget was hopeful. When he received no answer from M. Emery nor from the Holy Father, he started off to France. M. Emery, he thought, would surely help him. Full of hope, he hurried to visit the Superior General. When he entered his room, M. Emery received him with the words: "My Lord Bishop, you should be in your diocese." These words came like a thunder-clap. Then M. Emery told him that he had just received a letter from the papal authorities bidding M. Flaget accept the episcopal dignity. He told him to get ready to attend to his duties and to lose no time. The loyal Sulpician did not appreciate his superior's display of authority. He complained that he was not treated fairly, that he had been always a faithful Sulpician, worked for the welfare of the Company and had said three Masses for each of his deceased confrères, expecting that the Company would do the like by him at his death. But that now being cast out of the Society, he would lose this advantage. The Superior General started to console him. "You will not cease to be a member of the Society," he declared, "for you accept the bishop's miter in obedience to my mandate. Moreover, I will see to it that when you die every Sulpician shall say three Masses for you." M. Flaget was checkmated and now bowed to the inevitable, got what assistance he could in France and prepared to return to the new world. When he bade farewell to the Superior General, M. Emery was unusually cordial. To cheer him up, he assured him that all would be right. He agreed to allow M. David to go to Bardstown to help the bishop for at least three years. He gave him two presents, a box of needles and a French cook book. The former he said belonged to the necessary outfit of every

good bishop, while the latter might prove valuable, as some of his future lambs had not yet learned European cookery and the bishop might stand in sore need of a French culinary hand book. Armed with these and many other gifts, among them some vestments highly valued by the Sulpicians and a chalice that had belonged to M. Olier, and which is now at St. Mary's Seminary, he came back to Baltimore. Bishop Carroll he declared and no one else should consecrate him, for he had put this burden on him.

As soon as he was consecrated, he planned to go to his diocese. But alas! he lacked the needed means. M. Badin, whom he had named vicar general, offered to gather the needed money in Kentucky. But the bishop would not hear of beginning his activity by imposing a tax on his people. Fortunately his Baltimore friends were ready to help him, and in May, 1810, he made his entry into Bardstown. He was received cordially by both clergy and laity, though neither laity nor clergy were formidable on account of their numbers. Kentucky, the heart, so to speak, of his diocese, numbered about six thousand Catholics, divided up into thirty congregations, consisting each on an average of about two hundred souls. But only ten of these congregations had a church. The rest worshiped wherever they could find a home. The Dominicans had a primitive monastery dedicated to St. Rose and a few of the secular pastors had plain residences. These buildings together with six plantations constituted the wealth of the Church in Bishop Flaget's diocese proper. Outside of Kentucky, the new prelate also governed all the faithful to be found on the eastern bank of the upper Mississippi including Indiana, Illinois and even Michigan, as well as the few Catholics settled in Tennessee. The Kentucky Catholics were mostly pioneer descendants of Maryland emigrants, while the Catholics to the north of Kentucky were French Creoles who had spread southward from Canada. In the Illinois country and in Michigan many Indians were still to be found, partly Catholics whose ancestors were converted by Jesuits and other priests, and partly pagans. The Bishop of Bardstown, therefore had a flock calling forth all the skill

and resources of a wise and energetic shepherd. Monseigneur Flaget lost no time in proving both his wisdom and his vigor.

The history of the Sulpicians does not call for the detailed story of the episcopal activities of the Sulpicians who were placed in charge of bishoprics. In the case of Bishop Flaget, however, we shall feel ourselves justified in laying before our readers a more detailed picture of his work, especially inasmuch as this illustrates the Sulpician aims and spirit. Moreover, if in the case of other Sulpician bishops we refrain from entering with equal fullness on their history, our picture of Bishop Flaget's doings will enable our readers to fill in more satisfactorily the story of these good and worthy prelates. Nor shall we feel ourselves bound to follow the chronological order in every particular. We shall group the facts with a view to make them show most vividly what kind of a man Bishop Flaget was and to what extent he represents the Sulpician type.¹

The Sulpician, we must repeat, is first and foremost an educator of clerics. One of the first works the new bishop took in hand was the formation of a native clergy trained to fulfill the duties of good pastors. M. Emery had promised the bishop-elect the loan of M. David for three years. The meaning of this promise was that even then the Bishop and the Superior General had resolved that one of the first measures of the new administration was to be the organization of a seminary. We use the word organization because neither the diocese nor the Bishop had the means allowing them to think of building even a very modest seminary.

Bishop Flaget lost no time. Forthwith he appointed M. David superior of the seminary. At first he was also the entire

¹Fortunately one of Bishop Flaget's closest friends intimately associated with his later days and his successor, Bishop M. J. Spalding of Louisville, and ultimately Archbishop of Baltimore, has left us a most interesting life of Bishop Flaget. It is to a great extent based upon Bishop Flaget's diary, which not only records his doings but portrays the inward life of the man; his piety, modesty, fear of and trust in God, his unselfishness, devotion to duty and love of his clergy and his flock. It is in every way an admirable work, not only edifying but convincing and placing before the reader an undistorted and unadorned picture. We commend to all our readers these "Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict J. Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville." 8vo. Louisville, 1852.

faculty and had three students. Five years afterwards they numbered fifteen. Whether they numbered fifteen or three made no difference to the superior. He was always faithful to his work. He filled them all with the same devotion to this work which animated himself. When in 1811 the seminary was removed to the farm given to the Bishop by Mr. Thomas Howard, not only the superior, but all the students set to work making bricks and erected a building thirty by thirty feet. The spirit of St. Benedict guided these theologians. While they were eager and faithful students, they were equally enthusiastic builders, for it was they who had no small share in building the convent of the Sisters of Nazareth. The priests sent forth by the seminary proved how excellent were the spirit and the methods of M. David and his assistants. For as the years rolled on the faculty of St. Thomas' Seminary grew.¹

As a missionary, the new Bishop had before him the example of the early Sulpicians sent by M. Olier to Canada and an extensive missionary field. Like the Canadian Sulpicians he did not neglect the Indians, but in his missionary activity as in everything else, he combined zeal, energy and method. The first years of his episcopate he did not personally go outside of Kentucky. But Kentucky would make a very respectable European kingdom. Besides he was a bishop without a cathedral, for it would be misleading to give this title to the chapel of St. Stephen, now Loretto, where his vicar general, Father Badin, had resided, and where a log cabin sixteen by sixteen was his palace. He had therefore plenty of work before him at home. Nevertheless we learn that during the first four months of the year 1812 he traveled eight hundred miles, visiting various missions. These visits he usually made on horseback and when his work took him beyond the line of the more civilized districts, it was not uncommon for him to sleep in the open air under the clear sky of heaven. Of course, after 1814, when he extended his missionary trips beyond Kentucky to Vin-

¹The writer had the good fortune of meeting one of M. David's successors, the Rev. Charles H. de Luynes, S.J., a remarkable scholar and an able man who always spoke with the highest respect of Bishop Flaget's seminary. He had himself been brought up by the Sulpicians of Paris.

cennes, Indiana and St. Louis, Missouri, he rode much longer distances and had probably much tougher fare. Still we do not hear of his having had recourse to the French cook book presented to him by M. Emery. His vicar general, the Reverend Stephen Badin, claimed to have ridden more than 100,000 miles on his missionary tours. We have no records enabling us to calculate precisely how many miles Bishop Flaget traveled, but we may safely assume that they covered tens of thousands of miles. His travels were not always pleasant tours. His rides were at times too lengthy for such a purpose. In the year 1818 he extended his journey farther northward and on May 26th reached Fort Finley, Ohio. The traveler's comforts he enjoyed here were not enchanting. There was but one bedroom for fourteen or fifteen guests. They spread their blankets on a very rough floor and slept as well as they could. The menu for breakfast was of the simplest. Bacon was the meat on the occasion and corn bread was the only cereal product served. Both were prepared by the landlady and her daughters who, as well as the other attendants, were suffering from the itch. The guests drank from the same vessels as the attendants and we may doubt whether the necessary condiments were at hand. At all events, the day before the Bishop had met and ministered to a party of Indians, and the squaws, to express their gratitude, had presented his Lordship with a pound or two of sugar. We may infer that sugar was not too plentiful near Fort Finley. To these discomforts we must add the almost universal absence of roads. Where roads existed they were rude and elementary, and the traveler on horseback had frequently to struggle with branches and underbrush as well as with swamps. Moreover, we must not forget the rains, against which in this sparsely settled country there was but little shelter.

But there were other inconveniences which our episcopal traveler had to face. In fact, to a cultured man with a delicate conscience they were even more annoying and more torturing than the physical trials to which we have called attention. If we refer to Bishop Flaget's daily diary, we find that in the year 1817, when returning from St. Louis to Bardstown by way

of Illinois, he struck an inn whose principal room, according to Bishop Spalding, was "crowded with wagoners, who did nothing but utter continually the most horrible oaths and blasphemies. Fortunately a negro man came in, who began playing on the violin, left-handed, while a negress danced! The backwoodsmen stopped their swearing, in their admiration of the remarkable fiddler and the novel *danseuse*. Even the Bishop could not refrain from laughing at the grotesque scene, while he blessed God for having thus put an end to blasphemies so revolting; and though he heartily disliked dancing on all occasions, yet he now willingly tolerated it, as the less of two evils."

During a later trip to Indiana we come upon another incident illustrating the unrefined character of the people traveling missionaries were likely to encounter. On this occasion Bishop Flaget had with him as traveling companion the Reverend Mr. Abell, a refined young American. "They put up for the night," says Bishop Spalding, "at a way-side house of entertainment, which was a one story log cabin, with a garret or loft, approached by a ladder. The prelate and his companion lodged in this garret, the floor of which was covered with loose boards; while the family and some wagoners occupied the lower room. The Bishop had an alarm clock and he set it so as to go off at four o'clock—his usual hour for rising. In the morning, the clock created quite an alarm among the occupants of the lower floor. Several sprang to their feet in fright; when a more knowing or a more drowsy wagoner calmed them with the illuminating explanation, 'Lie still you fools! it is only the old priest's clock which has busted.'"

Amid such hardships the old gentleman, for he was forty-seven years old when he was consecrated, continued his visitations till his eighty-sixth year, traveling not only from village to village and county to county but from State to State. His journeys, besides every part of Kentucky covered Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan and Canada up to Quebec. Everywhere his eyes were open to the needs of the people. Where he found half a dozen families he organized

congregations; where he found the churches neglected he restored them; where he found the congregations quarreling, he reconciled them, and not only congregations, but families and individuals. A case of this kind was recorded by Bishop Spalding.¹ The Bishop in 1817 visited Scott County with his vicar general, Father Badin. They called chiefly to reconcile two neighbors who were leading men in the congregation. For two weeks the two clergymen rummaged through old papers and documents but made little progress. "At last one of the quarrelers remarked with some bitterness of tone that" he wished he had burned all his papers and never brought up the matter for adjudication. "The Bishop seized eagerly on the hint and at once earnestly exhorted them both to burn their papers and to forget the past. They could not resist his touching appeal uttered with so much fatherly feeling." . . . "The next morning the Bishop said Mass in the house of one of these men, the other being present. . . . Before the Communion, the Bishop turned round and addressed them one of his most fervid exhortations. After Mass the papers were solemnly burned; the two enemies shook hands; and the feud was terminated—much to the joy and edification of all present, many of whom could not restrain their tears."

He heard countless confessions, urged the building of schools and not only encouraged the religious instruction of his own flock, but when occasion offered explained the doctrines of the Church to non-Catholics. He devised a novel method of instruction which proved very effective. The first time he tried it was at Detroit in 1818. M. Richard, his old confrère, faced him in the sanctuary putting questions to him on the doctrines of the Church and the Bishop answered explaining them. As we have already said, this proved both popular and effective, so that the Bishop had recourse to it to the end of his life. When he was visiting the various parts of his diocese, he preached almost daily and sometimes he preached as often as three and four times a day. Nay, at times he preached regular retreats of a week or more in order to instruct his people.

¹Spalding, Bishop M. J., "Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget," pp. 245-246.

Besides these episcopal visitations during which he also administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, whenever it was necessary, he performed the duties of a plain parish priest. Thus in 1820 and 1821 during the absence of the Reverend M. Nerinckx in Europe, he attended to the six or seven congregations regularly under the care of that worthy missionary. Similarly, on other occasions he took charge of the flocks of the Reverend Mr. Abell, the Reverend M. Chabrat and others. He took this pastoral work most seriously. He not only visited the sick in the cathedral congregation, but when, in 1832-33, the cholera ravaged Kentucky he was ready to help the sick in every part of the State. On the Monday after Pentecost the plague struck the family of Mr. Roberts (a Protestant gentleman) residing some eight miles from Bardstown. Three of his servants and a daughter fell victims to it. All the neighbors fled. Then two of the Sisters of Loretto went to the aid of the stricken and were followed by two Sisters of Nazareth and the Reverend Dr. Reynolds, later Bishop of Charleston, S. C. One of the Sisters died of the disease. The Bishop himself next appeared at the desolate home, baptized a daughter of Mr. Roberts and anointed a dying servant. When the cholera struck Bardstown, the Bishop was equally intrepid. As long as the plague lasted he faced it boldly and escaped infection. When it seemed to die out, however, it laid hold of the sturdy Bishop and brought him almost to the grave. For three days his physicians despaired of his life. But his sturdy constitution, bold heart and God's help restored him to health, to the joy, not only of his own flock, but also of the entire city of Bardstown.

Bishop Flaget, following the example of the old Sulpician missionaries of Montreal and of Canada, showed the greatest interest in the American redskins. The days when the savages tortured the Christian missionaries to death were passed and many of the Indians had already found their homes beyond the Mississippi. But wherever the Bishop met with them, he failed not to provide for his redskin children. When in 1792 the small-pox raged in Vincennes and especially among the Indians, he was an ever active pastor among them. We have mentioned

his meeting with the Indian squaws at Fort Finley where they generously presented him with a pound of sugar. During his visit to Canada it gave him great pleasure to inspect the Indian settlements near the residence of his friend, M. Maland, at St. Anne. He was edified with their singing, admired their superb "Calvary" and was amused with their sports. He promised to send missionaries to the redskins of his own diocese. In 1818, when 10,000 Indians were gathered at St. Mary's to make a treaty with the United States, Bishop Flaget was in their midst and remained there for a great part of the seven weeks taken up with the negotiations. At St. Mary's he met the government agent Colonel Johnson. After Bishop Flaget's death, Johnson published his reminiscences of his relations with the prelate, which show how faithfully the latter practised M. Olier's principles. He avoided all controversy with non-Catholics, while they treated him with the utmost respect. "His conduct," writes the Colonel, "throughout his sojourn with us was so marked by the affability, courtesy and kindness of his manners with the dignity of the Christian and gentleman that he won all hearts. Added to this, he possessed a fine proportioned and commanding person; few persons excelled him here, when in the prime of his years." On this occasion, too, he carried out the Sulpician views on the accumulation of money. When the officials had collected the sum of \$100 (a large amount at that time) for a present to him, he positively declined to accept it. How deeply his dignified Christian bearing impressed non-Catholics appears on all occasions when he came in contact with them. As early as 1792, General George Rogers Clark showed him every attention at Vincennes. In 1814 Governor Clark of Missouri Territory, the partner of Lewis in his explorations of the Northwest, invited him to his house and prevailed on him to baptise his three children and to become their god-father. In 1818, on his way to Detroit, he was invited to be the guest of Mr. Anderson, the Congressman of that district, who was very kind to him. On June 2, 1818, when at Detroit, he received the visit of Governor Cass of Michigan and of General Macomb, who commanded the United States troops at Detroit.

They showed him the greatest attention while he remained at that city. He dined with these gentlemen a week later. In September of the same year, he was visited by Governor Jennings and Judge Park. On his return from Canada the same year the Governor-general of Canada met him on board of the steamer and showed him every attention. It is interesting to find the Bishop on board of a Canadian steamboat so short a time after Fulton had built the first steam craft at New York. It indicates the progressive spirit of the Bishop. But it is needless to multiply these proofs of the great esteem in which Monseigneur Flaget was held by his non-Catholic contemporaries. This is further confirmed by the readiness with which successive Kentucky legislatures granted charters and similar privileges to the convents at Loretto and Nazareth at the Bishop's request.

The Dominicans who had settled in Kentucky prior to his appointment to the see of Bardstown were encouraged and helped by Bishop Flaget wherever he could do so. In 1812, with the approval of the Bishop, Father Nerinckx founded the Sisters of Loretto, and about the same time Bishop David established the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Seven years later the Dominican Superior, Father Wilson, established the monastery of St. Magdalene, now called St. Catherine's. Two colleges, both at first run on the plan of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, with the help of the Seminary students, viz., St. Joseph's, under the direction of Father Elder, and St. Mary's, under the direction of Father Byrne, prove his zeal and foresight in securing successors to the priesthood. St. Mary's was ultimately entrusted to the Society of Jesus. Monseigneur Flaget expressed his anxiety to have their assistance in his diocese and in 1832 the president of St. Mary's College, the Very Reverend William Byrne, turned over his college to their care.¹

Devotion and loyalty to the See of Rome is another traditional principle in the Society of St. Sulpice. We should therefore look for it in the life of so thorough a Sulpician as Bishop

¹Only two years before his death in 1848 he received into his diocese some forty Trappists from the Abbey of Melleray in France. He established them at Gethsemane, some eight miles from the city of Bardstown.

Flaget. When the latter was raised to the episcopate at the suggestion of Bishop Carroll, we have seen him decline and for two years he struggled against the imposition of the new dignity. At last Rome spoke and M. Flaget ceased his resistance. In 1825, when he thought of paying his *ad limina* visit to Rome, he first asked for the Pope's permission to quit his diocese. The Holy Father thought it wiser for him to stay at home and he stayed. Ten years later he sailed for Italy. What impression Bishop Flaget had made on Gregory XVI by his loyalty we may gather from the Bishop's account of his first interview with the Pontiff. The latter assured him that "he had followed all my footsteps from Havre till my arrival at Rome, that he was satisfied with my conduct, that I was a worthy successor of the apostles."

It was at the request of the Pontiff that he undertook to present the claims of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith to the people of France and visited no less than forty-six dioceses to do so. His success was both immediate and lasting. "Thousands and tens of thousands joined the pious Association; and what was even far more consoling, piety revived and fervor was aroused under his preaching in the various cities and towns of France."

When after traveling through every part of France for the purpose of securing its aid for the American missions his friends urged the venerable prelate (he was seventy-seven years of age) to remain with his relatives in Europe, he asked the Pontiff's advice. Gregory XVI, who had received many letters from the United States insisting on Bishop Flaget's speedy return, advised him to go back to his diocese. There was not a moment's hesitation. To his chaplain, who spoke to him of remaining in Europe he declared, "No, no, my dear child; I was already fully decided to do the will of the Pope, and if he had answered that I should neither remain in France nor return to America but should depart for China or join the Archbishop of Cologne,¹ in case that venerable Confessor could find there a place for me, I should have departed on the instant."

¹Clemens August von Droste-Fischering, who was then imprisoned in a Prussian fortress for maintaining the rights of the Church.

He did as he said and returned to his flock reaching New York, August 21, 1839. Thence he hastened to Bardstown and forthwith proceeded to carry out the Pope's last commission. He brought the pontifical blessing to his flock. The religious communities were the first to receive his visits. But he did not forget the great mass of the faithful who were scattered over the State of Kentucky. During the next two years he traveled six hundred miles on horseback, bringing everywhere the papal blessing and was received almost like a messenger from heaven.

Then he settled down at home. There he continued to exercise, for the advantage not only of his own diocese but of the American Church in general, the great influence which was the result of his noble disinterested character and of the confidence which both the American bishops and the Roman authorities had in his wisdom. For his own diocese he secured colonies of the nuns of the Good Shepherd and of the Trappist monks and placed the Jesuits in charge of St. Joseph's College. But what especially engaged his attention was the transfer of the see from Bardstown to Louisville. This scheme he had laid before Gregory XVI when at Rome. The Pope referred the matter to the Propaganda Congregation and some time after his return to Bardstown, in 1841, the Bishop received the approval of this important step. He felt deeply the separation from Bardstown, the home of so many successful and happy years, where he was universally respected and revered. But time had shown that Louisville, not Bardstown was the most important city of the State. Though the period of removal had been left to his discretion, he did not hesitate long. Certain of being welcome in Louisville, where Catholics and Protestants were ready to aid him in building a new cathedral, he soon made up his mind. Toward the end of the year 1841 he made Louisville his home. Eight years later, though ill, the Bishop witnessed the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the Cathedral from the balcony of his residence, where he gave his blessing to the thousands of his flock and his friends. He was not privileged to see its completion.

The eighty-seven years of a strenuous and eventful life had done their work. His health began to fail, his body to grow feeble, his eyes to lose their power and the results of ancient accidents to revive. He could no longer read the offices of the Church; he said his beads instead. He was no longer able to offer the sacrifice of the Mass, he bowed his head in patience and submission. He could no longer give the benediction to the faithful. Unseen in his private gallery, he knelt to receive God's blessing. He always remained the simple, patient, God-fearing and God-trusting servant of the Lord until he slept in peace amid the tears of his friends, the respect of his fellow citizens and the universal mourning of his flock. He passed away on February 11, 1850.

The work done by Bishop Flaget, whether as a student in the Seminary or as a professor at Nantes; whether in the land of his birth, or as an exile in the land of his adoption; whether as a missionary, or as a bishop, was inspired by the same thought. He wished to do his duty, to serve God and the Church. He did this consistently and strenuously and joyfully and wisely. Without desiring it, he won the admiration of men. With simplicity and without ambition he achieved great results. Without looking for it, he won the praise of his superiors and his wards, of the plain faithful and the Supreme Pontiff. But what most impresses us is his beautiful, inner Christian life. From youth he kept a diary. To it he confided his inmost thoughts. Our readers will no doubt appreciate some of the spontaneous outbursts of the noble man which we cull from his diary. The sight of Niagara suggested to him the torrents of grace God pours into men's hearts which reject them like the hard rock. "Is not this the case with my own heart? O God! do not permit this!" he prayed.

"My God! how many thanks should I not render Thee, for having always given me a love for the life of the Seminary, in spite of the distractions in which I am forced to live!" His scrupulous desire to carry out the laws of God and the Church is expressed in the following: "Vouchsafe, O my God, to enlighten me, that I may do nothing to weaken the discipline of

the Church . . . in order to be found after my death among the faithful servants." When throngs of people came to see him during his visit to Detroit in 1818, he exclaims: "O my God! What is there in me to rivet the attention of these people?"

In his report to the Holy Father, dated 1836, he thus expresses his love and solicitude for his clergy: "Oh! may God bless my clergy! May He bless their continual sacrifices and generous devotedness, without which there would be nothing remaining of all that exists in my diocese! But, alas! these young priests soon become exhausted; on them old age and infirmities come prematurely—the evident result of their long journeys and painful missions."

His detachment from life in the world was ever in evidence but especially toward the end. To his friends, who often wished him better health and many more years of life, he constantly replied: "O no, pray not for a longer life but pray for a holy and happy death."

We shall close the story of Bishop Flaget's life by laying before our readers a picture of his diocese as he left it to his successor. When he went to Bardstown in 1810 he found there but a single institution, the Dominican Monastery of St. Rose. At his death, the diocese had a seminary with nineteen students; a preparatory seminary with fifteen students, two priests and five teachers; a high school with thirty students; four colleges, one in the hands of the Jesuits; three religious Sisterhoods in charge of a large Female Orphan Asylum, an Infirmary and eleven flourishing academies for girls. Bishop Spalding does not mention the number of churches, schools and parishes. But we know that under the Bishop's care they too had increased and multiplied a hundredfold.

II

RIGHT REVEREND J. B. DAVID, S.S.

Bishop Flaget's dearest friend and most faithful aid was his old Sulpician confrère, Bishop Jean Baptiste David. The story of their friendship and collaboration is truly edifying and

touching. Indeed, the life of Bishop David sheds new light on the life of Bishop Flaget. Still, the two men were in many respects quite unlike each other. Both were genuine Sulpicians. But while Bishop Flaget represents the best type of missionary Sulpician, Bishop David, though the coadjutor of his friend was essentially the professor and such he remained till the end of his days.

Jean Baptiste David was a Breton, sturdy, heavily built and endowed with a vigorous intellect and a sympathetic heart. He was born in 1761, near Nantes, in Brittany, and therefore was Bishop Flaget's senior by two years. After completing his classical studies he entered the Sulpician Seminary at Issy, where he was ordained in 1785. He then joined the Company of St. Sulpice, taught philosophy and theology in various seminaries until these were broken up by the revolutionary disturbances in France (1791). He was one of the companions of M. Flaget in 1792 and thenceforth they became intimate friends. On his arrival at Baltimore, Bishop Carroll sent him to the lower part of Maryland, where he remained until 1804. He proved to be a zealous and active missionary priest and is said to have been the first to introduce in the United States missions for lay congregations. However, he was not destined for missionary life and in 1804 we find him as professor at Georgetown. He was soon transferred to St. Mary's, Baltimore. When Bishop Flaget went to Bardstown in 1810, M. David, who had volunteered to accompany him, by M. Emery's directions went to Kentucky, and was placed in charge of the new Bishop's seminary. It numbered only three students, but the sturdy Breton president, who composed also the entire faculty, conducted their studies with as much regularity and system as if there had been a hundred. His seminary was a true Sulpician seminary. The next year the new seminary was transferred from St. Stephen's to the farm of St. Thomas on the plantation given to Monseigneur Flaget by Mr. Thomas Howard, a devout and zealous Kentucky Catholic. Here M. David and the seminarians while continuing their studies built a new seminary, thirty feet square. Professors and students spent



RT. REV. JOHN B. DAVID, D.D.

their recreation time in making bricks and erecting the building, which sufficed for twenty-five persons and could be heated so as to make it habitable in winter. They did not, however, on account of these labors neglect the prescribed lectures or seminary exercises. After the death of Bishop Egan of Philadelphia, in 1814, M. David was appointed to that see. But miters had no more attraction for M. David than for the other Sulpicians and could not tempt him away from his beloved seminary. Subsequently he refused the diocese of New Orleans. In 1817, however, he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, but he remained loyal to his much beloved seminary. He also had charge of some congregations in its neighborhood.

An enterprise in which he took a special interest was the Sisterhood which is now so well known in Kentucky and the South as the Sisters of Nazareth. Like all institutes destined to flourish and to last, its beginnings were very humble. About a year after the removal of M. David's seminary to the farm of St. Thomas, i.e., in 1812, he undertook the direction of two pious women who wished to consecrate themselves especially to the service of God. Other ladies soon joined them. In June, 1813, when their community had increased to six, they started their organization in a brick building near the seminary on the old Howard farm. M. David undertook to draw up their rules, which were based on those of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. These he modified so as to meet the needs of the changed circumstances, and the nuns dedicated themselves to the care of the sick and the teaching of the young. M. David's work turned out to be very practical and satisfactory. In 1822 the mother-house was transferred to Nazareth, whence the congregation spread not only throughout Kentucky but over many States of the South and Southwest. M. David continued to be the director of these good ladies after he became Coadjutor Bishop of Bardstown until his failing health compelled him to relinquish to Bishop Reynolds of Charleston this work which had grown so dear to him. He had been in charge for upwards of twenty years.

But M. David's principal care always remained St. Thomas'

Seminary. Until the building of the Bardstown Cathedral in 1819 the seminary was his regular home and here Bishop Flaget also had his residence and helped along the work of the seminary. Meantime the extent of the Bishop's diocese, his manifold duties and his frequent absence from home, impressed on him his need of an assistant. Rome received his request for a coadjutor favorably and also approved M. David, the candidate he had suggested. The Bulls appointing him titular Bishop of Mauricastro were dated July 4, 1817. M. David used every means to escape the promotion, pleading his inexperience, his age, for he was the senior by two years of Bishop Flaget, and the fact that he had advocated the appointment of a coadjutor might seem to have paved the way to his own preferment. But the Roman authorities set aside these reasons and then M. David yielded. Even then the old Sulpician was true to his calling, for he continued to be the president of the seminary, directing the studies and delivering his lectures just as before. His labors did not cease there. He continued to supervise the work of the Sisters of Nazareth, was at the same time the rector and the organist of the Bardstown Cathedral and served four adjoining missions, as well as that of St. Thomas, of which he had been pastor so long. His heart always remained with the seminary work. This bore fruit a hundred-fold. Archbishop Spalding, one of his old seminary students, declares that the older clergy of Kentucky who were trained by him and who knew him well, long held his name in benediction.

Laden with work but happy amid all his labors, Bishop David gave no thought to anything but his duties, when in 1832 he was suddenly upset by the arrival of a Bull appointing him Bishop of Bardstown to succeed Bishop Flaget who had resigned two years before, and with him all of the diocese was disturbed. Bishop Flaget was at St. Louis visiting Bishop Rosati, when he received Bishop David's letter announcing the news from Rome. He strongly protested against the change. He returned to Bardstown, accompanied by the Bishop of St. Louis. The opposition of both the clergy and laity of the Ken-

tucky diocese was so pronounced that the three bishops thought it best to bow before it. Bishop David offered Rome his resignation and Bishop Flaget placed himself at the disposition of the Holy See. As a consequence after being Bishop of Bardstown for about a year, Monseigneur David's resignation was accepted and Bishop Flaget was restored. The faithful old coadjutor retired to his seminary where he remained until the condition of his health and the solicitude of his daughters of Nazareth induced him to seek recovery in the midst of the Sisterhood that he had founded. They lavished on him every attention, but the noble and intrepid soldier of Christ had finished his task. He died at Nazareth on July 12, 1841. Bishop David was an indefatigable worker. He labored not only on the missions and among the Sisters of Charity, not only as a seminary professor and executive but also as a writer. His writings were among the earliest fruits of the Catholic press in the West. Among them were several translations from the French. Here is the list: "Vindication of the Catholic Doctrine Concerning the Use and Veneration of Images," "Address to His Brethren of Other Professions," "On the Rule of Faith, True Piety; or, the Day Well Spent" and a Catholic hymn book.

Bishop David, as we have said, was a man of large and powerful frame and like men so built, kind and good natured, though also a man of a quick and emotional temperament. But his ire quickly passed away. He was strict with those under his charge but no less strict with himself. When in 1823 the first clerical retreat of the Bardstown diocese took place, Bishop David fancied that he had been slighted in some matter. He lost his temper and gave offense by his language. Before long he realized his mistake and nothing would satisfy the humble and contrite Bishop but a public apology before the assembled priests. The incident produced a profound impression among the clergy and increased the love and the respect of all. The simple character of both Bishop David and Bishop Flaget was illustrated by another incident which occurred when both were advanced in years. Not long before Bishop David's death, Bishop Flaget received from Europe a box containing

pictures, beads and medals which was opened in presence of Bishop David. The latter asked Bishop Flaget for some of these trinkets with the view of distributing them among his friends. With a smile on his lips Bishop Flaget answered: "You always ask me for something and never give me anything." Bishop David's reply was irresistible: "I have given you all that I have, I have given you myself," and he got what he asked for.

III

REVEREND GABRIEL RICHARD, S.S.¹

Among the gentlemen of St. Sulpice sent to the United States in 1792 by M. Emery was the Reverend Gabriel Richard. He was a young man only twenty-five years old and born at Saintes in the department of Charente Inferieure. His family was distinguished in the history of the Church, for it had given to France Bossuet, the eloquent Bishop of Meaux. M. Richard made his classical studies at his birthplace and then studied philosophy and theology under the Sulpicians at Angers. He joined the Company of St. Sulpice before his ordination which took place at Issy in 1791. The Seminary at Issy was still open in the fall of 1791, and young Richard taught mathematics there. When the house was closed by the violence of the Revolution and the faculty was dispersed, M. Richard was sent to Baltimore and thus ended his career as a teacher. There being no work for him in the Baltimore Seminary, Bishop Carroll sent him to the West to labor among the French Creoles and the Indians. On the way to his mission, we find him at St. Louis with MM. Flaget and Levadoux late in 1792. Thence he proceeded to Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher, to which missions Cahokias was added in 1796. At Kaskaskia, he found a congregation of some eight hundred French Creoles who were far from being models of virtue. The congregation at Prairie du Rocher and Cahokias, however, were much better. In Illinois and Indiana he worked with zeal and devotion until 1798 when he was called, in company with M. Dilhet, to Detroit to succeed

¹For a fuller biography of the Rev. G. Richard, see that by the Rev. John J. O'Brien in "Historical Records and Studies," vol. v, p. 77 ff.



REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

PASTOR OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, DETROIT.

1799-1832



the Reverend M. Levadoux who was recalled to Baltimore in 1801 and subsequently to France.

Detroit was a French settlement and the center of the local fur trade with the Indians. His missionary work gradually extended also to Michilimackinac, Sault Sainte Marie and Arbre Croche where there were Indian stations. M. Richard was therefore following closely in the footsteps of the gentlemen sent by M. Olier to Montreal. In 1800 when M. Levadoux left Detroit, M. Richard became pastor of the old church of St. Anne, founded in 1755, and Vicar-general of the Bishop of Baltimore. The new pastor vigorously seized the reins as appears from the fact that only a year after his installation, no less than 521 members of his flock were confirmed by Bishop Denaut of Quebec. Then he took in hand the improvement of education at Detroit, where hitherto hardly anything had been done in its behalf. In 1804 he opened an academy for girls with five instructresses. The same year in accordance with the spirit of the Sulpician Company and the directions of M. Emery, he founded a high school for boys or rather a preparatory seminary for young men. Here were taught Latin, geography, ecclesiastical history, Church music and the practice of mental prayer. Probably he and M. Dilhet were the principal, perhaps the only instructors. In 1805 Detroit was visited by a great conflagration which swept away the greater part of the city and destroyed M. Richard's church and schools. Among the citizens of Detroit who enabled it to rise from its ashes there was no more strenuous worker than the Catholic pastor. He gathered provisions for the unfortunate victims and secured the respect of all his fellow citizens, for in the distribution of his charity he made no distinction of class, nationality or creed, nor did he neglect the interests of education. Three years after the fire Detroit could boast of six elementary schools and two academies for girls. He was also eager to restore his high school, but we do not know how far he progressed in his plans. We do know, however, that he actively promoted the establishment of what has since become the University of Michigan.

This was founded by act of the Legislature in the year 1817 under the title of "Catholepistemiad," a name given to it by Judge Woodward. In spite of this handicap, and his thirteen didaxiims or professorships it survives to this day as the University of Michigan. The president, Reverend John Monteith, a Protestant clergyman, held seven of these didaxiims and Father Richard, the vice-president, the remaining six. His yearly salary was \$18.50. Whether he actually performed any of the duties of his didaxiims is not certain but probable. At all events, the Catholepistemiad was short lived. In 1821 the charter of 1817 was repealed and replaced by a new charter establishing the University of Michigan. M. Richard was one of the trustees of this institution which has since developed into the well known university. As he had a reputation as an eloquent speaker he may well have lectured at times in the university. At all events, from 1807 he delivered addresses to his Protestant fellow citizens in the council house. These were religious lectures inculcating the fundamental principles of morality and Christianity, which tended to dissipate non-Catholic prejudice, and, no doubt, brought some of his hearers to the Catholic Church.

Towards 1808 or 1810 M. Richard paid a visit to Baltimore. Ever attentive to the needs of his Michigan flock and convinced that it sadly needed good Catholic reading, he purchased a printing press, one of the first used in this State. He now became an editor and founded the *Michigan Essay* which, however, did not take root, its first number being also the last. Nevertheless, the printing press was not a failure. It enabled M. Richard to print a number of books, French and English, dealing with religion and education, of which the reader will find a list in Father O'Brien's article.¹

During the War of 1812 against England, M. Richard gave free expression to his patriotic attachment to his adopted country and thereby roused the wrath of the Canadian authorities. They had him arrested and imprisoned at Sandwich. There

¹"Historical Records and Studies," vol. v, p. 77 ff.

he ministered to the religious wants of England's Indian allies and saved some Americans from torture and death.

A unique distinction fell to his lot in 1823. He was chosen Delegate to Congress for the Territory of Michigan and was the only Catholic priest that ever sat in Congress. He performed his duties to the entire satisfaction of his constituents. The greater part of the salary that came to him as a Member of Congress he devoted to the rebuilding of St. Anne's Church. He established Indian schools at Green Bay, Arbre Croche and St. Joseph's. He took an interest in the education of the deaf-mutes and in popular education generally, for we find him delivering lectures before the students of the Normal School of Detroit. In fact, he worked for every cause which advanced the civil and religious interests of the people of Michigan. In 1832 this State, like other parts of the West, was visited by the cholera. Intrepidly, like Bishop Flaget, he stood at the bedside of the stricken and fell a victim to the performance of his duty. Judge Cooley, a non-Catholic, spoke of him in words of marked eulogy. "Father Richard," he said, "a faithful and devoted pastor under many discouragements, did what he found it in his power to do to restore or convert the people to Christianity and to moral and decent lives. He would have been a man of mark in almost any community and at any time."

IV

RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM VALENTINE DUBOURG, S.S.

In our fourth chapter we have traced the career of M. Dubourg while he was president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, until Bishop Carroll appointed him administrator of the diocese of New Orleans. He thus became one of the Sulpician missionaries. His success as president of Georgetown and president of St. Mary's College was a guarantee that Bishop Carroll had made no mistake. His enterprise, his polished, attractive manners and his power to make friends fitted him to overcome the obstacles that he had to meet in his new position. His gentleness combined with prudence and determination promised solid achievements.

The ecclesiastical administration of the part of the United States which then went under the name of Louisiana was by no means an easy undertaking. It had become a part of the United States only eight or nine years before, when Napoleon (1803) had sold it to our government. Napoleon had held the sovereignty for a few months only. For thirty-eight years before 1800 Louisiana had belonged to Spain, having been transferred to that power after the Seven Years' War, when France lost Canada and the rest of her colonies in the new world. Under the French power, Louisiana was in its infancy. Its religious interests had been in charge principally of the old Indian missionaries, mostly Jesuits, and the bishops of Quebec. Under the Spaniards the religious authorities also were changed and the War of Independence had not helped to improve the moral and religious status of the inhabitants, whether Creoles or redskins. At New Orleans, on the southern bank of the Mississippi, more active communication with France had brought into the country the French literature and principles which had done so much to prepare the Revolution. Consequently religious fervor was not marked and religious practices were irregular. Owing in part to the repeated changes of administration, the clergy also had degenerated and ecclesiastical discipline had become relaxed. In 1763, the Bishop of Santiago, Cuba, was charged with the administration of Louisiana. But before long it was found that a bishop residing in Cuba had but little authority over a clergy residing in Louisiana, especially as both clergy and laity, mostly French, had little sympathy with their Spanish superior. At the request of the Bishop of Santiago, therefore, in 1772, Rome appointed a resident Coadjutor for New Orleans. His jurisdiction extended over the present States of Louisiana, Alabama, Florida and the banks of the lower Mississippi and Missouri. In the entire country there were seventeen parishes and twenty-one priests. Notwithstanding the small number of his subjects, the new Coadjutor's administration proved no more successful than the Bishop's and, what was worse, he did not agree with the Bishop's views. In 1793 the trouble became so acute that Bishop Escheveria dis-



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pensed with the services of the Coadjutor, who thereupon retired to Catalonia. Pius VI thought that to remedy the evil it was best to make Louisiana an independent see. Accordingly Don Penalver y Cardenas was named Bishop of New Orleans. He was a good man and a wise governor. The evils he had to contend with were serious and almost incurable. Religious life was fast dying out. Of 11,000 faithful in the Cathedral parish only three or four hundred made their Easter duty. Less than half attended Mass on Sundays. The religious character of marriage was ignored and concubinage quite common. Add to this the general spread of the irreligious French literature of the eighteenth century and we can conceive without difficulty the troubles of the new bishop. Things grew worse and worse after 1801. In that year Bishop Penalver y Cardenas was transferred to Guatemala. His successor never reached his diocese, but died at Rome in 1802. The administration was then in the hands of a vicar general whose regularity was doubtful, and in 1804 this doubtful vicar general died.

New Orleans was in this state of religious anarchy when in 1805 the Holy See entrusted the administration of Louisiana to Bishop Carroll. He felt that a resident bishop was needed, and sent to Rome the names of Father David and Father Nerinckx as men suitable for the new bishopric. But neither the one nor the other was ambitious for the honors of a miter. Some years of negotiation followed which probably did not help to improve the situation in New Orleans. At last in 1812, at Bishop Carroll's suggestion, Rome appointed M. Dubourg Administrator, and he accepted the office reluctantly. Indeed his new field of labor was a far from inviting post. What has been said sufficiently suggests the disorderly, nay, almost desperate condition of spiritual affairs at New Orleans. But this was not all. At the gates of the city stood an English army ready to attack it. Surely, M. Dubourg was a man of great pluck and determination to accept the administratorship in spite of these obstacles.

We have seen how active and vigorous was M. Dubourg's administration of St. Mary's College. His first steps at New Orleans were no less energetic. Seeing the critical state of

things, he appealed to his flock to stand by the American General Andrew Jackson, and insisted upon the duty and merit of patriotism. His words were not thrown away. General Jackson gained the glorious battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. Then M. Dubourg invited the American hero to assist at the Te Deum in honor of his victory. Jackson, who was no less impressed by M. Dubourg's eloquence than by his energy and patriotism, enthusiastically recognized the Administrator's services to the American cause. M. Dubourg's patriotic action impressed not only General Jackson but all the people of New Orleans. Still so disordered had ecclesiastical affairs become in Louisiana that even before the Administrator's arrival some of the clergy and laity of the city openly refused to recognize his authority. The leaders of the opposition were a Spanish priest named Anthony Sedella and two other seditious clergymen. When the Administrator resolved to put an end to these disorders by direct appeal to Rome and appointed Father Sibourd his vicar general during his absence, Sedella denied M. Dubourg's authority to name a vicar general. He succeeded in spreading the spirit of revolt throughout the city and diocese, and finally appealed to Congress to subvert the Administrator's authority and vest the control of various parishes in boards elected by the congregation. M. Dubourg, naturally a man of moderation, ready to use every means to re-establish peace, saw plainly the failure of all his endeavors. It was high time for him to go to Rome.

At Rome he met with a warm and friendly reception. Not only were his views and plans received with favor, but he was appointed Bishop of New Orleans in accordance with Bishop Carroll's suggestion, immediately consecrated (1815), and without delay began his labors for the development of his diocese. While it contained more priests perhaps than other parts of the United States there was also a larger flock to be cared for. Besides many of the clergy were broken down by age and some of them were decidedly seditious. His first effort, therefore, was to secure new missionaries who by their zeal, energy and loyalty would change the face of affairs. Success was imme-

diate. At Rome, he obtained the services of the distinguished Lazarist Fathers de Andreis, Rosati and Aquaroni as well as others of the same Congregation. In Belgium too he found a number of priests and seminarians ready to follow him to the new world. His experience at New Orleans had convinced him that the aid of some French Sisterhoods would greatly facilitate his missionary work. He therefore brought with him from Europe nine Ursuline Sisters and a few Religious of the Sacred Heart, a new congregation recently founded by Madame Barat. The superior of this latter community was Madame Duchesne. When he reached Annapolis on September 14th, he was accompanied by five priests and twenty-six seminarians.

The company started westward at once, headed by the Bishop, and finally reached Bardstown, Kentucky, where he was received with open arms by his Sulpician brethren Bishops Flaget and David. The new bishop carefully considered his plan of campaign. To go to New Orleans directly was to invite riot and rebellion. Accordingly, he resolved to enter his diocese at its northwestern end, in other words, to go to St. Louis before returning to New Orleans. In fact, he had prepared the way for this policy by asking Bishop Flaget, who was well known and popular at St. Louis, to pay a visit to that city in 1817. Monseigneur Flaget had complied with Bishop Dubourg's request, although in St. Louis too there were active elements of opposition. But these disappeared during Bishop Flaget's visit. When Bishop Dubourg learned of this favorable turn of affairs, he decided to go to St. Louis forthwith, but thought it wise to ask Bishop Flaget to accompany him. In the latter part of 1817 the two bishops set out on their journey.¹ At St. Louis the party was received with great enthusiasm and the Bishop resolved to make the city his home for the present and to proceed to New Orleans gradually, thus avoiding any conflict with the seditious elements in his episcopal city. This plan was not only prudent but also in harmony with the gentle, peaceful

¹It is interesting to note that at Louisville they took a steamboat for St. Louis. This was less than ten years after the invention of steam navigation by Fulton.

character of the Bishop and eventually proved eminently successful.

The Bishop's first care was the establishment of a diocesan seminary. The inhabitants of a place called the Barrens, not far from St. Louis, generously offered the needed ground and helped in the erection of the buildings. The institution was entrusted to the Lazarist Fathers under the presidency of Father de Lacroix (1818) and though at first there were but few students, their number grew from year to year and the seminary was a success from the beginning.

The establishment of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the diocese proceeded no less successfully. Three nuns arrived at New Orleans, May 30, 1818, and were at first settled at St. Charles, which place was, however, soon after exchanged for Florissant. As early as 1821 a second convent was necessary and was founded at Grand Coteau.

Meantime the Bishop had settled at St. Louis and built a cathedral. His activity was prodigious. He was erecting a cathedral, a church, college and a convent simultaneously and daily shared his meals with some twenty persons. The fare, however, it is needless to say, was plain and simple in the extreme; so was the episcopal furniture. A friend from New Orleans who saw the plain spruce cot on which the Bishop slept was shocked and sent him a more respectable bedstead. Here is the Bishop's letter of thanks: "My palace is too small and too shabby to admit so decorative a piece of furniture. You will, therefore, my friend, allow me to exchange it for something more useful. Bread is what I need, I and my household. Everything here is unreasonably high and I dare not treat myself to the smallest piece of furniture. Would you believe that we have but a single writing desk, which passes from one member of the household to the other. But this does not lessen my good humor."¹

Scarcely had he finished building his cathedral at St. Louis when he started out to visit his diocese. He now found the warmest reception everywhere, even to the very gates of New

¹See André in "Bulletin Trimestrielle," No. 52, p. 83.

Orleans. The people not only helped him to build churches but offered him the ground on which to build them. The generous contributions of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith enabled him to gratify his own generous nature and the needs of the faithful. In a few years he had erected forty churches down the valley of the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans.

The zeal and the gentle spirit of the Bishop produced their natural effects even among the rebels of New Orleans. At first the chapel of the Ursuline convent sufficed to take in the entire loyal flock of the diocese under its vicar general, M. Sibourd. Gradually two churches opened their doors to the vicar general and the loyalists. Finally even Sedella showed signs of a change of heart. When in 1820 the Bishop renewed his visitation, opposition had disappeared. Six miles from New Orleans he was met by a deputation of the faithful, headed by Vicar General Sibourd. Most notable among the party that came to welcome him was the converted rebel Sedella. They accompanied the Bishop all the way to the city and took him to his cathedral, where he pontificated on Christmas Day, 1820.

These visitations and missionary excursions were a feature of Bishop Dubourg's life while his episcopate lasted. Many of them were far from pleasure parties and sometimes not without danger. In 1825 he paid a missionary visit to Natchitoches, of which the letter of his companion, M. Anduze, gives us a graphic account. We subjoin a short extract: "On Tuesday, September 13th, we departed. M. Rossi had provided us with a guide and the necessary horses and kindly accompanied us for five miles beyond Opelousas. From this point began our expedition, properly so called. Our order was as follows: 1st. The guide on horseback leading a mule with baggage by a long cord. 2d. Charles also on horseback. He had a whip to hurry his mule's pace. I came next and the Bishop closed the procession. Here we bade farewell to mankind and buried ourselves in the desert. . . . On reaching the Bayou-Boeuf we were obliged to relieve the horses, who had the greatest trouble to cross the stream, though they carried only their saddles. But

we were specially puzzled how to get out of our own troubles. . . . I proposed to lunch on the opposite bank: the Bishop approved my proposal and wished to be the first to cross. The only means to cross the Bayou were two large trees which had broken loose from the two banks and lay top-to-top in the middle of the creek. This bridge had, moreover, the disadvantage of being covered by water more than one foot in depth throughout its length, so that all in all the crossing was quite dangerous. Our good Bishop, resting on the arms of the guide, undertook to face the difficulty. But he had hardly reached the point where the two trees met when the uppermost tree on which the Bishop was crossing was upset and our two travelers stood up to the arm-pits in water. This shock, though violent, did not discourage him; he climbed on the second tree and with the guide's help reached the other bank. . . . He got only a few scratches of which the Bishop made very light. The guide and the negro carried the baggage as well as they could. Finally we took up our march in the same order as before. The path we followed was at most three or four feet wide and passed over boggy ground bristling with cypress roots ending in sharp points on which we feared every moment to be thrown by the horses which drew up their backs to extricate themselves from the sticky mud. . . . We had scarcely escaped hence when we plunged into impenetrable thickets of reeds which, crossing in every direction, threatened to pierce us. . . ."¹ These were only the initial difficulties which they had to encounter before reaching Natchitoches. They suffice to show what were the enjoyments of missionary bishops at the time.

Besides these parochial visitations, which took up a great part of the time, Bishop Dubourg was also an Indian missionary or rather the director of a great part of the western missions to the redskins. He came in contact with them for the first time in St. Louis in 1820 when the head chief of the Osages called upon him at St. Louis. The next year he sent the Lazarist Father de Lacroix to visit the Indians in their homes up the Mississippi. The following year, he repeated his visit and

¹See André in "Bulletin Trimestrielle," No. 53, pp. 219-220.

penetrated fifty miles further west beyond the homes of the Osages. According to Odin he divided up the Indian missions between the Lazarists, who labored on the upper Mississippi, and the Jesuits, who evangelized the redskins on the banks of the Missouri.

As to the Jesuits, M. Dubourg deserves the credit of not only founding the Indian missions later made famous by Father De Smet and his Belgian confrères but of securing the services of these missionaries for the West. There had arrived from Belgium in 1821 a band of Belgian Jesuits consisting of Father De Smet and five others, some of them novices, and they had taken up their residence at Whitmarsh, Maryland. Various discouragements led them to think of returning to their native land when Bishop Dubourg (1823) accidentally paid them a visit. He was just engaged in negotiations with the Government at Washington relative to the Indian missions in Missouri and further west. The Indian superintendent had received him with much favor and listened with approval to the project of sending to the redskin the Blackrobes, for whom they had applied. As an earnest of this approval the United States Government promised to pay \$200 annually to each of four or five missionaries. The young Flemish Jesuits enthusiastically welcomed the proposed Indian mission. They agreed to transfer their novitiate to Florissant, near St. Louis, and thus became the apostles of the Indians on the upper Missouri and further west.¹

Bishop Dubourg had thus successfully provided for the most urgent necessities of his extensive diocese. At the same time he felt that one man did not suffice to supply the needs of this widespread field of labor. Accordingly he had the distinguished Lazarist Father Rosati appointed his coadjutor (March, 1824) and left to him the government of upper Louisiana, devoting himself especially to New Orleans. Here, however, he found that the old spirit of unrest had not yet died out. Believing that it might be easier for another to surmount the diffi-

¹Letter of M. Dubourg to his brother, March 17, 1823, in "Bulletin Trimestrielle," No. 53, p. 214. Also letter of August 16, 1823, *Ibid*, p. 215.

culties which met him here he sent his resignation to Rome. The Holy See, however, was unwilling to part with the services of so able a bishop. While his resignation was therefore accepted he was transferred to the see of Montauban in France to succeed Cardinal Cheverus in 1826. For seven years he had presided over its destinies to the satisfaction of Rome and his flock, when he was promoted to the archbishopric of Besançon. He was not, however, to enjoy his new honors for long, being called to his reward on December 12, 1833.

Bishop Dubourg was the author of "The Sons of St. Dominic" and of a pamphlet entitled "St. Mary's Seminary and the Catholics at Large Vindicated," besides other controversial writings.

V

MOST REVEREND AMBROSE MARÉCHAL, S.S.

Until the year 1817 Sulpician missionary bishops had been appointed only for the western and southern sees of the United States. In that year, however, the archbishopric of Baltimore was conferred on the Most Reverend Ambrose Maréchal, a Sulpician, who before his promotion had for five years been professor of theology at St. Mary's Seminary. Born at Ingres in 1764 he pursued his classical studies at Orléans and then chose the law for his profession. Before long, however, he felt himself called to the clerical state and entered the Seminary of Orléans where he pursued his theological studies under the Sulpicians. He was compelled to flee from France on the very day of his ordination and reached Baltimore with MM. Richard and Ciquard on June 24, 1792. He was sent by Archbishop Carroll to the missions in St. Mary's County and on the eastern shore of Maryland, where he worked until 1799, when he was appointed professor of theology in St. Mary's Seminary. There he taught until M. Emery recalled him to France where there was a great want of Sulpicians in various French dioceses. The expulsion of the Sulpician Fathers from the French seminaries by Napoleon in 1811 brought M. Maréchal back to Baltimore and to his old position in St. Mary's. Here he gave

himself to his duties with heart and soul and soon gained the confidence not only of his confrères and scholars but also of Archbishop Carroll. M. Maréchal was not only a theologian of distinction but a scholar of great attainments in literature and mathematics, as appeared from the papers on the latter subject left by him at his death. He was a well-read historian and a man of general information. Moreover, his learning was always at his service, for he shone in conversation, shedding light on every subject which he discussed. Above all he was a charming gentleman, attractive, polite and kind without pretension and full of consideration for others.

That such a man should have riveted upon himself the eyes of all who came in contact with him was natural. Accordingly, we find that the American bishops in 1814 with one voice recommended him for the vacant see of New York. Outside influences, as well as his own reluctance and the efforts of his Sulpician brethren, saved him from what he looked upon as a heavy burden. But the trial was only postponed. On July 3, 1816, the Bulls appointing him to the see of Philadelphia as the successor of Bishop Egan reached him at Baltimore. Again he strove to avoid episcopal honors and made an earnest appeal to Cardinal Litta, the head of the Congregation of the Propaganda to spare him the dreaded change. The Cardinal appealed to him to submit, but as he did not require submission in virtue of obedience, M. Maréchal thought himself justified in persisting in his declination and escaped promotion the second time. But the relief was only temporary. The following year (1817) Archbishop Neale felt that his health required him to ask Rome for a coadjutor, and again proposed M. Maréchal as his assistant. On July 4, 1817, the Roman authorities signed the Bulls appointing him coadjutor of Bishop Neale with the right of succession and they reached the Bishop-elect at Baltimore on November 10th. Meantime, however, Bishop Neale had been called to his reward. Monsigneur Maréchal was therefore immediately consecrated archbishop and took charge of the diocese without delay.

He sought first of all to become well acquainted with his

diocese. He therefore lost no time in visiting its various parts, but especially the cities of Norfolk and Charleston, which were distracted by unpleasant disorders. At Charleston the notorious Father Gallagher had for many years kept the faithful in a turmoil and usurped the rights of the lawful parish priest, Father de la Clorivière; while at Norfolk the Dominican Carbry was causing no less trouble with the help of the parish trustees. Archbishop Maréchal firmly opposed the usurpers and by judiciously mingling authority with charity succeeded in restoring peace and order. By his wise action in another matter which was disturbing the American Church, he deserved its gratitude for all times.

We have seen how small was the number of the American clergy when Archbishop Carroll was named bishop in 1789; we have seen how difficult it was to fill its ranks during the administration of Archbishop Carroll, notwithstanding all his efforts to build it up. It is true that besides the native clergy a number of priests had found their way into the country and that among them there were men of great ability and character. This is especially true of the priests that were expelled from France by the Terror. But as might be expected, besides them some undesirable elements had found their way to the United States. These troublesome elements were to be found not only in New Orleans, Charleston and Norfolk, but in Philadelphia and New York, where, as in the South, they exercised considerable influence among the laity, especially the trustees. Now when in course of time bishops were multiplied in the country and Archbishop Carroll became head of a hierarchy, the questions arose how the bishops which the country needed were to be selected. Rome, of course, had the final appointive power. But who were to advise Rome in making the selection and from whom was the selection to be made. At first Bishop Carroll was the only bishop. He was at a distance and it was desirable to have his judgment supported by others. Besides there was but a small number of candidates who possessed the desirable virtues and ability needed in a bishop.

It should be borne in mind, that of the priests laboring in



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the Lord's American vineyard there were two classes, perhaps the two most available classes, who were excluded from the episcopacy by their own action. These were the Jesuits and the Sulpicians. The Jesuit, it is well known, at his entrance into the Order promises to decline the episcopal dignity unless the Pope should give him a positive command to accept the same. Besides, the Order after its suppression had been re-established in the United States only since 1807. The elder members were therefore unavailable for episcopal sees because of their age and the younger members because of their being relatively untried. The members of the Society of St. Sulpice, though not bound to refuse the episcopacy by positive vows, promise on entering the Society to avoid ecclesiastical dignities and the entire history of the Company proves how thoroughly in earnest its members were in making this promise. Even in the youthful American Republic, the Sulpicians raised to the episcopal dignity accepted it only after positive disinclination. This was true in the case of Bishops Flaget, Dubourg and David, and Archbishop Maréchal himself had given repeated proofs of the same disposition before his final elevation to the see of Baltimore. When the far from numerous secular clergy offered a suitable candidate, as was the case with M. Cheverus, consecrated Bishop of Boston in 1810, Rome did not hesitate to raise him to the episcopal rank. Such regulars as were resident in the country and were not prevented by their vows from accepting the bishopric if they were thought to have the required qualities Rome was ready to elevate to ecclesiastical dignities. Thus she named the Franciscan Father Egan, Bishop of Philadelphia in 1810, and the Dominican Father Edward D. Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati in 1822. But when in 1808 a bishop was to be nominated for the new see of New York, the Roman authorities conferred the dignity on the Dominican Father Luke Concanen, who resided at Rome and had never been in the United States. When Bishop Concanen died in Naples (1810) before being able to reach his see, his successor was the Dominican Father John Connelly, a resident of Rome, who was equally unacquainted with his future field of activity.

Dr. Henry Conwell, Vicar General of Armagh, Ireland, was appointed Bishop of Philadelphia in 1820 although he was a stranger to the United States. Similarly Dr. Patrick Kelly, president of Birchfield College, Kilkenny, Ireland, was selected to be Bishop of Richmond, Virginia, in 1820. He was not only a stranger to the United States, but at his consecration in Europe took the oath of allegiance to George III. At the same time the distinguished and able Bishop England, who had up to that time been president of the Cork seminary, was promoted to the recently created see of Charleston. However, Bishop England when consecrated positively refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England tendered to him at the time of his consecration. It appears from this that a few years after Monseigneur Maréchal was raised to the see of Baltimore and about the time he set out for Rome on his *ad limina* visit in 1821 four out of eight American bishops had been appointed to their sees without having seen the country which they were to govern. No doubt it was common at Rome to send to missionary countries bishops who had been strangers to their sees before their appointment, but the United States could not be placed in the same class as China and Japan. Moreover, in some cases, the prelates sent had proved to be unacceptable to the government of the United States, because they were subjects of the power with which the United States had recently been at war.

When, therefore, Archbishop Maréchal reached Rome in 1821, he drew the attention of the Propaganda to these considerations and to the fact that from the beginning of the American hierarchy Archbishop Carroll had insisted that American appointments should be recommended by the American hierarchy. He showed so much tact and ability in urging his cause that the Pope and the Propaganda were readily convinced of the wisdom of the policy advocated by him. "We admit," said the Archbishop in a memoir to the Sovereign Pontiff, "that we (the American bishops) have no right to present candidates for the episcopacy, but unquestionably someone must nominate them. Who then will be able to know the candidates worthy of

being entrusted with such important missions? Strangers can not claim to be acquainted with the needs of the country."¹

The principles then suggested by the Archbishop of Baltimore have regulated the selection of bishops in the United States ever since, and the Church of the United States has recognized his service to its true interests.

On the same occasion, he drew the attention of the Roman prelates to the controversy on the rights claimed by lay trustees to control the Church property in the United States and the Sovereign Pontiff issued some rules on the subject which tranquillized the troubles for the time but did not settle them definitely. His visit to Rome, therefore, proved most beneficial to his diocese and the entire American Church. He returned to Baltimore at the end of 1822.

Before leaving for Rome, Archbishop Maréchal had the satisfaction of consecrating his new cathedral (May 21, 1821). This at the time much admired specimen of architecture was in a way especially the work of the Sulpicians. When Archbishop Carroll hesitated to select the spot on which it now stands because of the expense, the memorial of MM. Nagot, Tessier, David, Babade, Flaget and Dubourg led him to wave his objections. In 1821 the people of Baltimore saw the beautiful structure finished and Archbishop Maréchal dedicated it to God's service to the great satisfaction, not only of the Catholics but of the Protestants.

During his stay in Rome the Archbishop, in order to encourage the seminary, had induced Pope Pius VII to erect it into a papal university by a brief dated April 18, 1822. By way of showing its new rank, the degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred on the Reverend M. Whitfield, Vicar General of Baltimore; M. Deluol, one of the professors in St. Mary's Seminary, and M. Damphoux, the president of St. Mary's College, on January 25, 1824. Clearly the Archbishop had not forgotten his old confrères of St. Sulpice and was determined to strengthen his seminary by every means in his power. He conferred these degrees at a solemn function in the new cathe-

¹André in "Bulletin Trimestrielle," No. 54, p. 365.

dral which made a great impression on the people. With a moderation which is so distinguishing a quality in the Company of St. Sulpice, St. Mary's Seminary has seldom exercised this prerogative.

Having settled to his satisfaction all the disorders and troubles which faced him at the beginning of his episcopate, Monseigneur Maréchal ruled his flock in peace after his return from Rome. Throughout the extent of his diocese everything promised progress, and outside of Baltimore, in every part of the new Republic, the Church gave evidence of prosperity. He did not, however, fail to see that this prosperity would bring new problems, and planned to summon a great Provincial Council to provide for future needs, and especially to secure the regular and uniform development of the American Church. He was not in favor of premature action, however, and thought it wise to postpone summoning this Council. But in the year 1826, while giving Confirmation at Emmitsburg, he was taken with an illness which soon developed into the fatal disease of which he died on January 28, 1829. His death was regretted by all the citizens of Baltimore and the people of his diocese.

VI

RIGHT REVEREND JOHN DUBOIS, D.D.

Right Reverend John Dubois, D.D., third Bishop of New York, is an old acquaintance. A polished Parisian gentleman, he had been the class mate of Robespierre and Desmoulins at the Lycée, and of Abbé Macarthy and of Cardinal Cheverus at the seminary. A few years after his ordination, he was forced to leave France, was introduced by Lafayette to many distinguished Virginians, such as President Monroe and Patrick Henry, was a zealous missionary in Maryland and founder of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. In 1826 when the Papal Bulls took him away from his beloved mountain college which he had rebuilt twice, he was sixty-three years old and a vigorous, clever and affable man, whom President Andrew Jackson pronounced the most perfect gentleman he had ever met. He had been a Sulpician for seventeen years and though the circum-

stances of the last year had severed his connection with the Sulpician Company, he remained a Sulpician in spirit. As an old confrère he made a preparatory retreat before consecration at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. He took with him to New York the friendly sympathy of the Sulpician Company and the best wishes of the Maryland people among whom he had spent so many happy years. The aged Charles Carroll of Carrollton presented him with the episcopal ring. The new cathedral at Baltimore where he was consecrated by Archbishop Maréchal was filled with throngs of well-wishers and yet the man who had been specially selected to convey the good wishes of his future flock bade him no friendly welcome, but prophesied evil days for the Bishop on that festive occasion. The Reverend Mr. Taylor, who was guilty of this remarkable piece of bad manners, had the good sense to resign the following week as the pastor of the New York cathedral and betook himself beyond the Atlantic.

Still, Mr. Taylor's greeting foreboded no pleasant days to the new Bishop. There were in New York at this time ambitious men who craved for undeserved honors. They had been a thorn in the side of the late Bishop Connolly. They did not hesitate to charge Archbishop Maréchal with intriguing to fill the see of New York with his friends, to accuse the Bishop-elect of vulgar ambitions and to impute to the Society of St. Sulpice a spirit wholly unknown to it. But though the Archbishop and Bishop and the Sulpicians each of them flung back these unworthy insinuations, the new prelate was doomed to taste the fruits of this malicious spirit. On the Sunday following the consecration, Bishop Dubois preached in his cathedral in Mulberry Street. He strove to impress upon his flock that he was animated by nothing but benevolence toward them, and especially assured them of his broadmindedness, which saw no difference between the children of St. Louis and the children of St. Patrick. His friendly words could not dispel the spirit of suspicion and malevolence. The writer has met ladies and gentlemen who knew the old Bishop and who had the pleasure of entertaining him at their homes, and who still

kept the room in which they gave him hospitality just as it was when the Bishop was their guest. They bore witness enthusiastically to the kind, noble and generous character of the Bishop and scorned the idea that there was anything mean and insincere in him; and such testimony as they gave agreed with that of the men and boys of the Mountain College and with the record the Bishop had made for himself in Maryland. We cannot dwell upon the pettifogging attempt to annoy the good prelate, which principally came from the clergy of his own cathedral, such as Father Levins, a clever but erratic man. They were the sequel partly of the disorders under Bishop Dubois' predecessor and partly of the doings of small spirits, some of whom were narrow rather than wicked. Suffice it to say that these annoyances did not interfere with the efficiency of the Bishop's administration, to which we will now turn.

Immediately on his accession, he showed that he was determined to do his duty to the full. Forthwith he made excursions to the New Jersey part of his diocese and to the neighborhood of the Metropolis, dedicating churches, encouraging the clergy and inspiring the laity. When he had become familiar with the situation in the neighborhood of New York he started out to acquaint himself with the more distant parts of the diocese. Alone and unattended, the old gentleman set forth, by way of the Hudson, to Albany, to central New York, and to Buffalo, preaching, hearing confessions and administering the Sacraments. At Buffalo he strove to settle the quarrels that had arisen between the pastors and their flocks. He even visited the only Indian colony in his diocese and induced the redskins to give up some of their claims. To this visitation, which took up the greater part of the years 1826 to 1830, and covered 3,000 miles, he devoted four strenuous years and not without greatly impairing his health. From the beginning of his administration he gave his attention to the problem of providing good and loyal pastors for his flock. The great diocese had no seminary. His means were of the scantiest. This did not discourage him, however. He determined during his coming visit to Rome (1831) to lay this essential need before Pope

Pius VII and request his assistance. The Holy Father had a sympathetic heart and an open purse for him. From his scanty means he furnished him the sum needed to buy the land required for his first seminary at Nyack on the Hudson. The work of building went on apace; the faculty, including the priest who later became the first American Cardinal, was already selected and had taken possession of the new home of learning; an attractive new chapel had been built; the old Knickerbockers who had looked with suspicion on their strange new neighbors had not only become reconciled but friendly, when one fatal night the seminary became the prey of the flames and the Bishop saw his most cherished plans doomed to disappointment (1834). Nothing daunted by this disaster, a year or two after, he appealed to his clergy and laity to further this necessary work and to spare no personal efforts to provide the much needed seminary. In 1838, he bought the fine mansion of Mr. John Lafarge, of Lafargeville in Jefferson County, to be the home of a new seminary which was to provide education not only for students of theology but of secondary studies in general. The success of St. Mary's College had convinced him that he might expect the same in a place distant from New York. But though the new home of the Muses was quite attractive, its inconvenient location wrecked it, and St. Vincent de Paul's Seminary of Lafargeville died after a year. When, however, in consequence of declining health Bishop Dubois had received the assistance of a coadjutor in the person of Bishop John Hughes, who as a pupil of the Mountain Seminary was equally convinced of the need of a seminary and college for the great diocese of New York, the coadjutor, in the name of the Bishop, bought and organized St. John's Seminary and College at Fordham in 1841. This measure, which was in harmony with Bishop Dubois' seminary policy, was taken but a short time before the old prelate's death.

It was in 1838 that Bishop Dubois asked Rome to give him a coadjutor. He had been on the brink of old age when appointed to the see of New York. Three visitations which he made of his diocese had worn down and finally broken his

health, which had been also impaired by the constant annoyances that were due to some troublesome members of the laity and the clergy. But in spite of these drawbacks and in spite of the fatality which foiled some of his best intentioned efforts, Bishop Dubois' administration proved a blessing to the diocese. He brought to the city the Sisters of Charity whose director he had so long been at Emmitsburg. He was the founder of hospitals and orphan asylums of which in his days the Catholics stood in sore need. The Catholic places of worship grew under him in number and in beauty. Catholic education was fostered with a loving hand. Catholic publishers started up and periodical literature was encouraged and grew in influence, for the days of Bishop Dubois were also the days of the *Truth Teller*, founded by Messrs. Pardow and Denman just before the Bishop's accession. This progress was made in a few years, notwithstanding that the times were marked by the first outbreak of Protestant bigotry, which threatened the liberty of the Church and the existence of its institutions. But the veteran who had seen the days of the French Terror was not daunted by these new gadflies, which could not thrive in American soil, and besides he had placed at his side his old Emmitsburg pupil, the vigorous, stout and fearless John Hughes, who was destined to start a new era as the first Archbishop of New York.

In 1838 the masterful old prelate determined in spite of his years and his infirmities to make another visitation of his diocese. The will was there but the strength of the Bishop was fairly exhausted. He had suffered repeated paralytic strokes which weakened him both mentally and physically. The attention of Rome had been called to the situation and in August, 1839, two months after his return to New York from his last visitation, Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore was commissioned to announce to him the decision of the ecclesiastical authorities. It transferred the administration of the diocese from shoulders unable any longer to bear their burden to the vigorous shoulders of the young coadjutor, Bishop Hughes. At first the old prelate could not realize the blow which had fallen upon

him. His mental weakness took the form of obstinacy and he could not reconcile himself to abandon the exercise of authority to which he had been accustomed for a lifetime. But gradually he grew conscious of his own feebleness and retiring from all public life he prepared himself for the end by exercises of piety and devotion, for Bishop Dubois had ever been a man of exemplary piety and devotion. Daily he celebrated the holy sacrifice and even on the day which summoned him to his reward he did not have to forego this much valued privilege.

He died in the Lord on December 20, 1842, with a gentle smile on his lips after invoking the holy names of Jesus, Mary and Joseph.¹

¹For a fuller account of Bishop Dubois' administration see the article on Bishop Dubois, by Charles G. Herbermann, in "Records and Studies," vol. i, p. 278 ff.

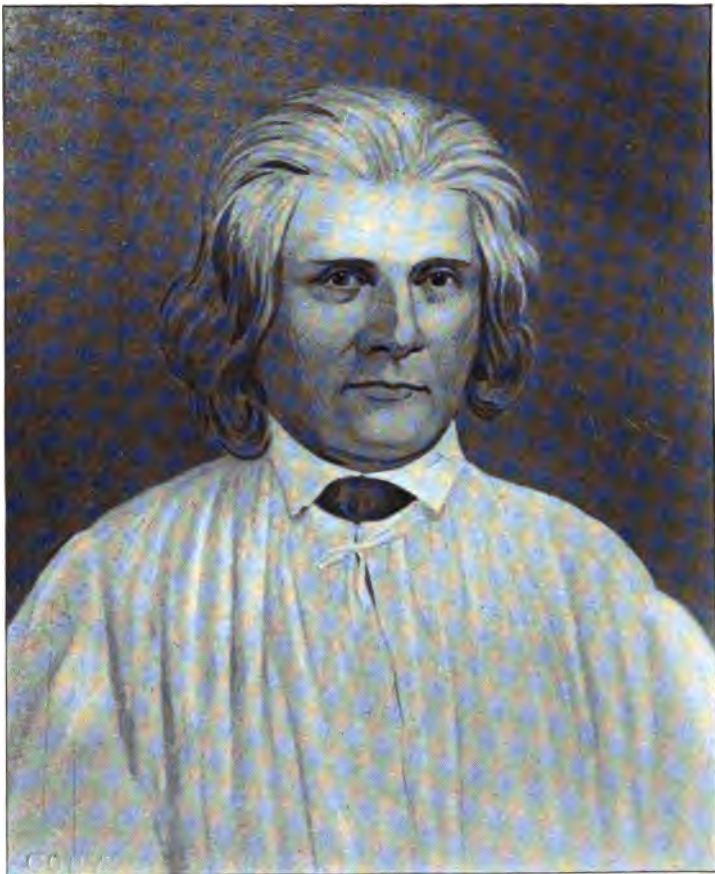
CHAPTER VIII

ST. MARY'S SEMINARY

THE ADMINISTRATION OF M. DELUOL, 1829-1849

It is time to return to the history of St. Mary's Seminary, the mother institution of the Company of St. Sulpice in the United States. When we spoke of it last, we reported the arrival in 1829 of M. Carrière at Baltimore as visitor representing M. Garnier, the Superior-general in Paris. He had come at the invitation of M. Tessier, the aged superior of the American Sulpicians and was to examine into the condition not only of the seminary, but of the entire Society in the United States. For M. Tessier besides being the head of the seminary had authority over all the members of the Society whether employed in seminary or in missionary work.

The visitor, M. Carrière, was a very distinguished member of the Company of St. Sulpice in France. He had the entire confidence of the Superior-general, M. Garnier, and knew his views. That he possessed the confidence of all the French Sulpicians also, appears from his standing in the French Company of St. Sulpice; for he was not only a scholarly theologian but held the place of Vicar-general of Paris, and since 1850 that of Superior-general of the entire Society. Of course, when he arrived at Baltimore, he was received with the honors due to his position not only by the Sulpicians but also by Archbishop Whitfield, who invited him to share in the deliberations of the first Council of Baltimore. What was the mission of this distinguished gentleman? According to the wishes of M. Tessier and M. Garnier he was to examine into the American branch of St. Sulpice and not only to report thereon to M. Garnier, but he was also to take such immediate steps as the situation suggested. The first consequence of his mission was, as we have seen, M. Tessier's spontaneous resignation and its acceptance. The reason of this step was sufficiently plain. The old Superior, for he was now seventy years of age, had already repeatedly asked in vain to be relieved of his duties and may have foreseen that his age ill-fitted him to inaugurate the changes



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demanding by the times. But M. Tessier's withdrawal was only the first result of M. Carrière's mission. To appreciate the work of M. Carrière, let us review in brief what an institution St. Mary's Seminary and its dependencies had become.

From the year 1826 when the Sulpicians gave up the College of Mount St. Mary at Emmitsburg, only two institutions remained under the control of the Company, St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College. In these twelve members of the Society were employed, including M. Tessier, the Superior. The other members were MM. Damphoux, Deluol, Lhomme, Elder, Randanne, Wheeler, Knight, Hoskins, Joubert, Chanche, Hickey and Eccleston. MM. Deluol and Lhomme with M. Tessier formed the faculty of the seminary. The other gentlemen were officials of St. Mary's College. To the seminary was attached a beautiful chapel which had practically become a parish church for that district of Baltimore. The gentlemen of St. Sulpice also assisted at the Sunday services at the Cathedral along with the Seminary students. Besides, some of the Fathers acted as directors of St. Joseph's Convent, Emmitsburg (the community of Mother Seton), and of the Oblate Sisters of Providence which community was just in process of formation. Several of the older members of St. Sulpice such as Monseigneur Flaget and Monseigneur Dubois had become bishops and were therefore independent of the Society and no wise subject to the action of its superior.

St. Mary's Seminary had measurably progressed. Its spirit was excellent, as is shown by the subsequent career of the seminarians. It was, in fact, the spirit of MM. Olier and Emery. It numbered some twelve or fifteen students at this time. To M. Carrière this appeared a small number as compared with the French seminaries. It impressed him as still smaller because the education of seminary students according to the tradition of St. Sulpice, was primarily the only work of the Sulpicians.

If now he looked at the other Sulpician institution in Baltimore the visitor could not fail to be pleased with its prosperity. St. Mary's College numbered some two hundred students and

their work was entirely satisfactory to its patrons. Unquestionably the nine members of St. Sulpice who directed the institution were doing a useful work, greatly appreciated. But to M. Carrière, who saw with the eyes of MM. Olier and Emery, this work, though excellent, was not the true work of St. Sulpice. In 1826 the Society gave up the mountain college, because it continued to teach theology. This action logically constrained them to surrender the college at Baltimore, and with all the more force because the latter took away a larger number of members from their primary work.

But were the dictates of logic the dictates of common sense? To abandon the college was to leave the seminary without a feeder and was therefore to condemn the seminary to death. Moreover, could the college be abandoned when the solemn contract with the Legislature of the State bound them to maintain it for at least thirty years, that is to say, for eight years longer? M. Carrière saw that the college could not be given up immediately, while there must be no delay in restoring St. Sulpice to its ideal purity. St. Mary's College was a necessary evil for some ten years longer. But meantime, the preliminary steps might be taken to establish a genuine *petit séminaire* after the ideal of St. Sulpice. Moreover, the parish work of the Fathers and their spiritual direction of other religious communities must be gradually given up and the weeds which had crept into the Sulpician garden must be rooted out. After carefully examining the prospects and the possibilities of the Sulpician work in the United States, M. Carrière looked for the man best suited to carry out the reforms and improvements which he had in mind. His choice fell upon M. Deluol, the oldest of the French Sulpicians and the principal professor of theology in the seminary.

Louis Regis Deluol, a native of St. Privat, near Aubenas, Vivarais, was born on June 16, 1787. During the French Revolution (1798) his parents concealed a priest, the Reverend Bernard, in their house for a year and a half, during which time young Deluol daily served his Mass, an experience which made a profound impression on the boy. Having made his col-

legiate studies at the College of Aubenas he entered the seminary of Viviers (1807), which was in charge of the Sulpicians. Before being ordained he was appointed professor of philosophy which he taught while awaiting Napoleon's permission to take Holy Orders. This arrived in 1811. He was raised to the priesthood on December 21st of this year, shortly after the suppression of the Society of St. Sulpice by Napoleon's order. The following years were a troublesome time for the French seminaries owing to the political disturbances, during which M. Deluol gave proof of his fearlessness and firmness against unjust interference. After the re-establishment of the Sulpicians under Louis XVIII, M. Deluol became a member of the Company and entered the novitiate at Issy on October 26, 1816. The following year he set sail for the United States and reached Baltimore on the 24th of October. He had hardly time to settle down in the seminary when he began his classes of theology on November 12th, lecturing to ten students. Henceforth he was a very busy man, teaching theology and philosophy, and since October 7, 1819, was also business manager of the seminary. He proved himself a skillful man of affairs. Energetic and practical, he gained the confidence of his superiors and confrères and was of much service in straightening out the financial troubles between the seminary and the Emmitsburg college. Combining great charm of manners with sound judgment, he was loved and respected by all with whom he came in contact. Many years after his return to France streams of American friends came to see the old Sulpician at St. Sulpice, to consult him on matters of importance or to show him that time had not been able to extinguish the affection which they conceived for him in the United States. Finally, he was a man of unusual learning, well versed in both philosophy and theology and a Hebrew scholar of note.

It was no wonder that M. Carrière felt convinced that M. Deluol was the very man to smooth over difficulties and to realize the plans on which he and the superiors of the Society laid so much weight. At the meeting at which M. Deluol was named superior by M. Carrière, he gave expression to the most

kindly sentiments for all and promised in every way to promote harmony in the Company. In accordance with the visitor's views he resigned his position as confidential counselor of Mother Seton's nuns, naming Father Hickey to fill his place.¹ As regards the substitution of a real *petit séminaire* for St. Mary's College, the new superior forthwith went to work to realize the schemes of the visitor and M. Garnier, and circumstances greatly favored his initiative.

In the year 1801 when the Federalist party retired from power, Charles Carroll of Carrollton withdrew from political life. The leisure time which was now at his disposal he devoted to literature and philosophy and especially to religion. He dwelt at his Manor of Doughoregan. Even as early as 1799, the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice became, so to say, the chaplains of the Carroll house, saying Mass there at least one Sunday each month. Among the chaplains who successively officiated at the Carroll Manor were MM. Garnier, Flaget, David, Dubourg and Maréchal. These gentlemen, especially the last, became the intimate friends of the old statesman. Archbishop Maréchal continued his friendship after his elevation to the see of Baltimore and Mr. Carroll had an open ear for his suggestions.

The Archbishop was a warm friend of the Sulpician Company and strove by every means to further its interests, which he considered the interests of the diocese. What was needed by the diocese and his former confrères, he thought, was a *petit séminaire*, and Mr. Carroll seemed to him the man to provide it. As the Archbishop felt his end approaching and he was unable to visit Doughoregan Manor as often as before, he found an ally and advocate of the preparatory seminary in Miss Caton, later Mrs. Mactavish, the beloved granddaughter of the old statesman. To her the Archbishop trusted the cause that he had so much at heart. Toward the middle of 1828, half a year after Monseigneur Maréchal's death, the plans took definite shape and she proposed to her grandfather to give to the diocese

¹It must be remarked, however, that such was the confidence of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the wisdom and business ability of their old director, that he remained practically the superior of the nuns.

a part of the Doughoregan Manor. But against this Mr. Carroll, who felt that it was his duty to keep the hereditary estates of the family intact, strongly revolted. Miss Caton did not urge the point. After the Archbishop's death, the friendship between the Signer and the Sulpicians continued as before. M. Tessier and M. Deluol and other gentlemen of St. Sulpice were not unfrequent visitors at Doughoregan Manor. In fact, when the visitor sent by M. Garnier, the Superior-general of the Sulpicians, came to Baltimore, according to M. Deluol's diary, one of the first visits he paid in Baltimore in company with MM. Tessier, Eccleston and Deluol, was to the old Signer, by whom they were received with the utmost kindness and courtesy.

At the same time, Miss Caton did not forget her promise to Archbishop Maréchal. In the fall of 1829 she proposed that her grandfather devote a different plot of ground situated near Doughoregan Manor, on the other side of the road to Frederick, for the same purpose. "Oh, yes," said Mr. Carroll, "that plot does not come to me from my forefathers; I bought it myself; I can therefore give it away without impairing the Manor. Besides, I noticed that in the old deeds it is called 'Marye's Plot.' Well, since it bears that name, I can give it to the Church for the purpose you suggest."¹ So he had the plans drawn immediately and on January 21, 1830, he sent them to the directors of St. Mary's, asking whether they were suitable for a preparatory seminary such as they thought of establishing. Mr. Carroll next asked the Legislature of Maryland for a charter for the proposed college which was granted readily on February 3, 1830. On the following day, he sent a copy of the charter to the Sulpicians. This gave to the five trustees named in the charter, to wit, MM. Deluol, Chanche, Elder, Tessier and Eccleston, the property in question and authorized them to acquire new property, fixing the maximum income at six thousand dollars. The purpose for which this property was to be held was the education of young Catholics preparing for the priesthood. On the death of any of the trustees the remainder

¹Gosselin, "*Vie de M. Emery*," vol. ii, p. 39.

were to fill the vacancy by electing a Catholic clergyman who was a citizen of the United States. On March 27th he drew up the deed of trust and sent it to M. Deluol along with fifty shares of the United States Bank for the construction of the buildings. To this sum, M. Adolphus Williamson added \$3,000 to provide cut granite needed for the façade and the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome donated 500 crowns.

The corner-stone was laid in 1831 by Archbishop Whitfield in the presence of the venerable Charles Carroll and of a great crowd of interested Catholics. M. Deluol as president of the Board of Trustees did his best to push forward the work of erection. According to his diary, while the building was going up he made frequent visits of inspection to St. Charles' College. On one of these which took place October 12, 1831, M. Deluol dined with Mr. Carroll. He observes that the latter was full of humor and quick witted, though at the time ninety-four years of age.¹

M. Carrière returned to Europe October 20, 1829. Of course, he reported the good news of Mr. Carroll's donation. In accordance with the request of the Baltimore brethren he hastened to send over two more members of the Sulpician Company, MM. Vérot and Fredet to strengthen the Society in the United States.

But all the zeal of M. Deluol and all the good will of the French Sulpicians failed to achieve the end they so ardently desired. The outside of St. Charles' College was indeed finished. But the interior remained uninhabitable. The trustees had not the money to finish it. In vain M. Deluol and Arch-

¹Mr. Carroll was not fated to see his college finished. M. Deluol in his diary gives us an account of his death which shows how close the relations of the Signer to the Sulpicians were to the end. We quote from the diary:

"Nov. 7th. M. Chanche gave the last rites of the Church to Carroll, the Signer.

"Nov. 14th. Mr. Carroll died at 4 A.M. in the arms of Miss Mactavish, in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Caton, also of M. Chanche, who gave him the plenary indulgence *in articulo mortis*.

"Nov. 17th. Remains of Carroll transferred to the Manor. The Governor of Maryland used his fist to quiet a man who was under the influence of liquor. 'You can rule both with your head and with your fist,' said I to the Governor."

bishop Eccleston appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. In vain the prelate, as he tells us, went from door to door to collect the needed sum. At last in 1840 the prospect seemed to improve. The Reverend M. Piot, pastor of Ellicot City, offered his entire savings, \$6,000, for the completion of the preparatory seminary on condition that he should be supported in his old age. But the sum offered only sufficed to pay the debts and to make a few improvements in the interior of the house. In fact, the enterprise lay dormant until in 1848 the time came to set it in motion anew.

If we seek for the causes which paralyzed the activity of the new *petit séminaire*, Archbishop Eccleston in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith tells us it was lack of funds and lack of the "personnel" to conduct the new institution. We must bear in mind that the funds needed were required not only to finish the building, a mere trifle, but after the building was completed, it was necessary to pay for the maintenance of the buildings as well as to pay for the teachers and the maintenance of the students. Experience has taught us that it is much easier to build a parochial school than to maintain it. We must bear in mind that the number of Catholics in the archdiocese of Baltimore, as well as in its suffragan dioceses, was comparatively much smaller before the great immigration of 1846 set in. Indeed many of the suffragan sees cannot maintain a seminary at the present day, let alone a seminary and a *petit séminaire*.

If Archbishop Eccleston states that the opening of St. Charles' was delayed for want of the needed "personnel," this may refer both to the students and to the professors. The Sulpicians could not provide for the number of teachers needed to furnish the faculties of both St. Mary's and St. Charles' colleges, especially as one of the purposes of creating St. Charles' was to put an end to the system of employing seminarians as subordinate instructors in the colleges. To abolish St. Mary's College at once was impossible. It was impossible to pay the fine which M. Dubourg, in the name of the Company, had agreed to pay, if the college were given up in less than thirty years

after its chartering. Moreover, it would be a great grievance to the students and to their parents to wipe St. Mary's College out of existence without providing its students with a place where they might continue their studies, and such a place was not in sight before the foundation of Loyola College by the Jesuit Fathers.

As we have said, the personnel of which Archbishop Eccleston spoke probably referred to the students as well as to the instructors. A few years before the opening of St. Charles' the great immigration due to the Irish famine began. This increased the Catholic population as well as the need of priests on the one side and the candidates for the priesthood on the other. It is plain, therefore, that the conditions for the success of St. Charles' College were extant to a higher degree in 1848 than in 1832. We need not be surprised, therefore, that M. Deluol could not achieve in that year what was achieved by Father Jenkins sixteen years later.

In the seminary, however, M. Deluol proved himself an energetic superior and a vigorous man of progress. Indeed he proved himself to be the very man for the position. He was a splendid executive and represented the University before the Church and the country most acceptably. Of his executive ability from the financial point of view he had given proofs for more than ten years. His learning as a theologian, a philosopher and a linguist, secured for him the respect of the most distinguished men in Church and state. He enjoyed the entire confidence of Archbishop Whitfield and was the intimate friend of Archbishop Eccleston. In fact, he followed the old Sulpician tradition of standing well with his episcopal superiors. To Archbishop Eccleston he was attached by special bonds of friendship. In 1843 he accompanied the prelate on his long visit to the West. In 1844 he conducted the funeral rites for Mrs. Stenson, the Archbishop's mother, and by his will Archbishop Eccleston appointed his long and faithful Sulpician friend one of the executors of his last testament.

With the other chiefs of the American hierarchy he stood on equally confidential terms. When Bishop Dubois was called

to rest in 1842, M. Deluol was one of the first churchmen to whom Bishop Hughes wrote the intelligence. When differences of opinion arose about the Sisters of Charity in New York the matter was ultimately settled between the Bishop and M. Deluol. In 1844 Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia fled from his episcopal city, under the threats of the native American movement which had laid some of the Philadelphia churches in ashes. He took refuge with M. Deluol at St. Mary's Seminary and was received with open arms. Among other bishops that the hospitality and fame of the president drew to St. Mary's were Bishop Fenwick of Boston, his colleague, as promotor of the first Council of Baltimore; the Canadian, Bishop Charbonnel and the future Bishop of Charleston, Dr. Lynch. He was also on terms of friendship with Dr. Purcell of Cincinnati, Dr. Whelan of Richmond, and Dr. Timon of Buffalo. Before Bishop Barron went to start the American mission in Liberia, he, as well as Father Kelly, was the guest of M. Deluol. Father De Smet received the privilege of holding a collection for his Indian missions at St. Mary's.

We find M. Deluol equally respected and honored by the most celebrated statesmen and scholars of his day. His friend, General George Stewart, introduced him to the greatest contemporary American man of letters, Washington Irving, and Mr. J. P. Kennedy to the greatest orator, Daniel Webster. In 1841, Napoleon's Adjutant-General Bertrand, who had accompanied the Emperor to Elba and St. Helena, paid a visit to St. Mary's.

The French scientist, Nicollet, who spent several years in this country on a mission from his government, often advised M. Deluol as to the best means of improving the scientific course in his institutions, and when he was in his last illness, the president of St. Mary's offered him the consolations of religion. Professor James Hall, the eminent New York geologist, just before his conversion in 1837 visited M. Deluol. These names, probably only a part of such distinguished visitors, we have culled from M. Deluol's diary. But they are sufficient to prove the wide range of his influence in the Church, in scien-

tific and social circles. It must not be thought that the president of St. Mary's Seminary neglected his immediate duties in order to extend his personal influence. The picture his diary draws of him in his relation to the students of the seminary is uncommonly attractive. In the house, he was full of sympathy with the students, loved to pass a joke with them, and did not disdain an occasional use of slang. He accompanied the seminarians on their weekly tramp. When a festival or some special occasion took them to a picnic, he was frequently with them. Two of the places which are especially mentioned by him as scenes of their holiday sports are Gable's Fountain, and Cromwells, and it cheers one's heart, even seventy years later, to see how well he provided for his seminarians. On July 4, 1839, he took his Company, consisting of six priests and nine seminarians, out to Gable's Fountain. To supply their corporal wants, seven loaves of bread, ten chickens and half a ham were provided. Though not born in the United States, M. Deluol was a staunch American. Year after year, we find that he took his students and faculty out to some country place to celebrate Independence Day, not only looking after the feast of reason and the flow of soul, but also for their bodily comfort. When Pigeon Hill was sold by the college authorities, he saw to it that the seminarians found a new place for summer excursions at St. Charles'.

During the early part of his régime, the archæological researches which later on affected the courses of many seminaries had barely begun and even Church history as a separate branch of theological study was but slightly emphasized in them. But M. Deluol carefully scanned the progress of theological learning and the needs of his institution. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that Hebrew was one of the subjects taught in the Baltimore Seminary. M. Deluol himself, who was a well-versed Hebraist, delivered the lectures on this subject. M. Frédet, whom M. Carrière had recently sent to Baltimore, was the professor of Church history. His volumes on ancient and modern history made his name almost a household word among Catholic American college students during the second half of

the nineteenth century.¹ The students of philosophy in the seminary were not forgotten. M. de Courson, the Sulpician head of the Nantes Seminary had lavished his private fortune to provide a course in science for the seminarians² of Nantes in Brittany. M. Deluol instituted a similar course in St. Mary's under the Sulpician, M. Vérot, who taught here for many years with much distinction, until he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Florida in 1858. M. Vérot soon became a correspondent of the Smithsonian Institution and a friend of Professor Henry. With M. Nicollet of the French Bureau of Longitude, who came to the United States in 1832 and represented his department until his death in 1843, M. Vérot cultivated social and scientific relations. The college in consequence procured a transit, refracting and reflecting telescope and other scientific instruments. In 1842 by the advice of M. Nicollet, a magnetic observatory was put up on the seminary grounds.

The courses in theology continued to be given with much distinction and the seminary continued to gain in reputation from year to year. The number of students did not greatly increase during H. Deluol's administration, but their quality, as shown by their subsequent careers, entitles them to the greatest credit. Of the thirty-six priests ordained during this period five were raised to the episcopacy, viz: Bishop McGill, of Richmond (1850-72); Bishop Loughlin, of Brooklyn (1853-91); Bishop Bacon, of Portland, Me. (1855-74); Bishop Foley, of Chicago (1870-79), and Bishop Edgar J. Wadhams, first Bishop of Ogdensburg. Bishop McGill was a publicist of note. At Louisville he edited the *Catholic Advocate* in which he wrote a series of controversial articles which produced a great impression. His other works were: "The True Church," "Faith the Victory," a criticism of Macaulay's "History of England" and a translation of Audin's "Life of John Calvin." Reverend

¹Besides these histories, M. Frédet published the following works: "Inspiration and Canon of Scripture," "Original Texts and Translations of the Bible," "Interpretation of Scripture," "Necessity of Baptism," "Effects of Baptism and the Obligation Attached to It," "Lay Baptism and Doctrine of Exclusive Salvation."

²See Thébaud, "Three Quarters of a Century," "Records and Studies," vol. i, p. 204 ff; and p. 209 ff.

John B. Gildea was chosen president of the Catholic Tract Society of Baltimore in 1840, a society founded to throw light upon Catholic doctrine and history. He was not only a learned but a very zealous priest, who was thrice stricken by the cholera when it visited Baltimore. Prominent among the publicists sent forth from St. Mary's Seminary during M. Deluol's administration was the Reverend Charles I. White, who was ordained in the year 1830, having graduated from St. Mary's College in 1823. Between 1843 and 1845 he again resided at St. Mary's, teaching, and two years later made the seminary his home while preparing his examination for the degree of D.D., which was awarded to him by the faculty of the seminary. For twenty-three years, i.e., from 1834 to 1857 he was the editor of the "Catholic Almanac." In 1842 he founded and edited the *Religious Cabinet* which, however, lived for one year only. It was replaced in 1843 by the *United States Catholic Magazine*, which to this day is one of the most important sources of Catholic contemporary history. On its demise in 1849 it was replaced by the *Catholic Mirror*, a weekly journal which lasted until 1908. In 1853 he published a *Life of Mother Seton*. He rendered a great service to the Catholic cause by translating Balmes' famous work on "Protestantism and Catholicism Compared in Their Effects on the Civilization of Europe" (New York, 1850), which was followed by a translation of Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity" (1856). In 1857 he became pastor of St. Matthew's Church in Washington, a place which he filled with distinction until his death in 1877.

Dr. John H. McCaffrey for forty-four years president of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, was an orator of mark, whose funeral orations on Bishops Dubois and Bruté are spoken of as models of this kind of eloquence. His published works include a series of lectures delivered before the Philomathean Society of Emmitsburg, and before the Catholic Association of Baltimore, as well as a series of Catechisms.

The Reverend Edward Knight and the Reverend John Hoskins, who were ordained respectively in 1830 and 1832, joined the Company of St. Sulpice and became prominent professors

at St. Mary's College. The Very Reverend Henry Coskery, who was vicar-general under two Archbishops of Baltimore and refused the see of Portland, Maine, was a classmate of Father Starrs, whom all New Yorkers of the middle of the last century will remember as the vicar-general of Archbishop Hughes.

A scholar will appreciate at once the value of the donation received by St. Mary's Seminary in 1845. Mr. Adolphus Williamson bequeathed his valuable library to the Seminary. This was the same Williamson who had already earned the gratitude of the Sulpicians by his contribution to St. Charles' College.

The government of St. Mary's Seminary did not by any means exhaust the activity of M. Deluol. Though he turned over the directorship of the Sisters of St. Joseph to Father Hickey, the Protectorship of the Sisterhood officially remained with him as the Superior of the American Sulpicians. The confidence of the Sisters in his wisdom and the practical success achieved by him resulted in the substantial retention of his former burdens by the superior. As the Sisterhood had greatly grown in numbers and now had houses in many parts of the United States, the work entailed on the Protector was greatly augmented and his correspondence increased. Even from the beginning of his administration, M. Deluol continued his annual visits to St. Joseph's, and after 1841, when M. Hickey resigned, M. Deluol resumed his office as Superior-general of the Sisterhood. The duties thus placed upon his shoulders were by no means light. The plans of the Superior and of Archbishop Hughes of New York clashed in various respects and it was thought best after careful consideration to separate those members of the Sisters of Charity who desired to be left in New York from the Emmitsburg Sisterhood. The latter were subsequently affiliated to the French Vincentian Sisters of which the New York Sisterhood never formed a part.

During the administration of M. Deluol from 1829-1849, the first seven Provincial Councils of Baltimore were assembled. In all of these the Sulpician Fathers, and especially, Father Deluol took part, which entailed no little work on their Superior and the community. M. Deluol was the theologian

of the Archbishop of Baltimore at all of the Councils and played an important rôle in their transactions. It is interesting to find that even in 1833, the Council discussed the foundation of a national seminary which in a way found its realization in the Washington Catholic University. In 1843, he was a member of the committee to which the difficult question of Church property was entrusted. In 1846 and 1849, the Council discussed the question of defining the Immaculate Conception as an article of Faith and on both occasions M. Deluol read a report on the subject. He was evidently considered especially fitted to give his advice on this important matter. On other occasions, we find him discussing the questions of clandestine marriages and of the illicit character of such societies as the Odd Fellows and the Sons of Temperance. It is easy to see that the preparation of such important and difficult subjects must have required considerable time and much learning.

In the year 1847 the name of one of the Sulpicians appears in the Maryland law courts in connection with a case which contributed to settle a most important point concerning religious liberty in the United States. M. Hickey, one of the veteran professors of St. Sulpice, was cited before the court to testify before a jury concerning a sum of \$14,000 restitution money received by him in confession. The learned professor declined like Father Kohlmann in New York, to violate religious liberty by violating the secret of the confession.

On March 16, 1845, M. Garnier, the Superior-general of the Sulpicians, departed this life after filling that high office for nineteen years. M. Garnier was the last survivor of the little colony, sent by his Company to Baltimore in 1791. After his return to France in 1803, he had continued to take the liveliest interest in his American brethren and their fortunes. As we have seen, he had been especially urgent with his brethren at Baltimore to give up all employments not strictly speaking connected with clerical education, and with that purpose in view had sent M. Carrière to the United States in 1829. At that time, however, many insuperable obstacles had prevented the Sulpicians from surrendering their parochial work connected

with the seminary and their patronage of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Emmitsburg, as well as from giving up St. Mary's College. Matters remained in this condition during the lifetime of M. Garnier. After his death, M. de Courson, the Superior of the Sulpician house at Issy, was chosen his successor. The new Superior determined to take immediate steps to harmonize the American houses of the Company with those of France. This determination of M. de Courson imposed many sacrifices and many changes on the American Sulpicians. It required them to give up duties and relations which had become endeared to them and to the persons concerned. To cut the ties which bound them to the Seton Sisters at Emmitsburg; to sever their connection with the numerous French and English congregations that loved to worship at the Seminary; above all, to give up St. Mary's College which had become a flourishing institution and one which through its alumni was influential in the civil affairs of Baltimore and Maryland. The American Sulpicians, as it might be supposed, deeply felt these sacrifices, though they had been foreseen, some of them, many years before. Their Superior, M. Deluol, above all, must have felt the sacrifice. Yet it was he who worked with his usual zeal and prudence to place the supervision of the Sisters of Charity in the hands of the Lazarists. It was he who, next to Archbishop Maréchal, had labored most for the creation of St. Charles'. It was he who, in 1837, immediately after the period that expired during which the Sulpicians, according to their pact with the Maryland Legislature, were obliged to maintain St. Mary's College, entered into negotiations with the Jesuit superiors for the sale of the college. The negotiations, it is true, failed. In 1848 his opinion on the prospects of St. Charles' and the advisability of transferring St. Mary's College seemed to have undergone a change. He expressed grave doubts as to the success of St. Charles'. Indeed a prudent man might very well have done so. The great Irish immigration was of but very recent date and had touched Baltimore only to a slight extent. Though M. Deluol himself had through his relations with the New England bishops and the Sisters of Charity, paved the

way for the extraordinary help which New England gave to the success and prosperity of St. Charles', more than a prophet's eye was required to foresee this in 1848. As a matter of fact, the Baltimore Superior was mistaken, being but human. But he was not obstinate. On September 26, 1848, he records in his diary: "The Archbishop calls and is determined to open St. Charles' College; I do not believe in the success of the enterprise but since the Archbishop wants it, it shall be done." M. Deluol had therefore approved of Father Jenkins' appointment to the presidency of St. Charles' before the Archbishop informed the latter of it on September 29th. At all events after the 26th of September the Baltimore Superior is found acting wholly in sympathy with the Archbishop.¹ This appears from another entry in his diary, dated October 30th: "The Archbishop, his two acolytes, Coskery and Hickey, dined here with M. Raymond and O. L. Jenkins. The dinner is given in honor of the latter, who is to start to-morrow to open St. Charles' College." We shall speak of the success of St. Charles' in a future chapter.

M. Deluol's activity at Baltimore was not destined to last much longer. On the one hand, his health had, under the influence of age and trials, shown symptoms of weakening. On the other hand, M. de Courson thought it wise to write the American Superior to leave the scene of his thirty years work. He was thus obliged to give up his occupations, his interests, his friends. It was, no doubt, a severe blow for the old gentleman, but he did not quail. M. Faillon remained in Baltimore five months, when he started for Montreal. M. Deluol departed for Paris December 7, 1849.

He did not leave the land of his adoption without an ex-

¹Some remarks of M. Faillon, who came to Baltimore on April 21st of the year following, as M. de Courson's official visitor, have been interpreted to mean that Archbishop Eccleston was offended by M. Deluol's stand on the question of opening St. Charles'. But the Archbishop was not the man to take offense with his old teacher for respectfully expressing his opinion, and M. Deluol's submission as expressed in his diary would surely satisfy any superior. Moreover, the two gentlemen remained on the same friendly footing as before and what is unquestionably decisive, when in 1851, the Archbishop died at Georgetown, M. Lhomme tells us in his diary under date of May 12, 1851: "In a paper found to-day, the late Archbishop appointed administrators first, Deluol; second, Raymond; third, Coskery."

pression from his many friends of all ranks, clerical and lay, showing the esteem in which they held him. His confrères, the Seton Sisters, the many social friends who had so often entertained him and his seminarians, from the Jenkinases to the Cromwells, crowded round to bid him an affectionate farewell, and above all his dear seminarians, the companions of his walks and his enjoyments, whether in the house or on holiday celebrations, the objects of his daily prayers, bade him a most affectionate and sincere farewell and wished him many years of usefulness in the land of his birth. They did not stop here. For the remaining years of his life they pursued him with letters and rejoiced him with their visits. His diary lovingly records the number of American letters reaching sometimes twenty per month which showed him that he was not forgotten in the land for which he had labored with heart and brain and which followed his course of life to the end. Among the friends that visited him at Issy or at Paris we find the new Archbishop of Baltimore, the successor of his friend, Archbishop Eccleston, the learned Archbishop Kenrick, accompanied by his friend, the future Coadjutor Bishop of Chicago, Father Foley. In the years that succeeded, we notice among his visitors Archbishop Hughes, with his friend Bishop McNeirny of Albany; Bishop de Goesbriand of Burlington; Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans; Bishop Timon of Buffalo; Bishop Amat of Monterey and the saintly Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia. It would take up too much space to record all the priests and laymen from the United States that paid him their respects. But we cannot refrain from mentioning the name of a distinguished Englishman who sought his advice and his friendship after his conversion. This was Mr. Robert Wilberforce, the partisan of Pusey, friend of Newman, son of the man who abolished the African slave trade, and the brother of the distinguished and eloquent Bishop of Oxford who was known as "Soapy Sam."

But M. Deluol was not the man to spend his days in receiving the homage of his friends. For two years after his return to France, his health needed much attention and care. Then

he took up again the life of the disciple of M. Olier and became professor of Hebrew in the Paris Seminary. Here his ability was such as to permit him to teach Hebrew alongside of Mr. Le Hir, the greatest Hebrew scholar whom the Company of St. Sulpice produced and the man to whom Ernest Rénan owed his Hebrew scholarship. Occupied with his favorite studies, and planting the seeds of learning in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, he spent in useful work the evening of the life which had been so eminently fruitful to two continents. One joyous event above all made him happy during the latter days of his life. In two Councils of Baltimore, he had striven with might and main, with all the powers of his intellect and the vigor of his will, to move the American bishops to approach the Holy See with the petition that the Church should proclaim the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. In 1854, he saw his dearest wish gratified and we can sympathize with the triumphant reception which he gave to this glorious news in his diary.

His death, like his life, was the death of a pious Christian and a model priest. He died on November 15, 1858.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROTÉGÉES OF THE SULPICIAN

St. Vincent de Paul, the founder of the Lazarists, had aided the Blessed Louise Le Gras to found the Sisters of Charity. M. Olier, the founder of the Sulpicians, had enabled Jeanne Mance to found the great Hotel Dieu at Montreal. The Sulpicians of Baltimore were destined to lend a helping hand in the establishment of two female Congregations in America, the Sisters of St. Joseph, which name was changed later to that of Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, and the Oblate Sisters of Providence. As the protection which they gave to these charitable societies was not the least of the services which the Society of St. Sulpice rendered to the Catholic Church in America, a history of the Sulpicians in the United States omitting an account of these would be incomplete. It needs no excuse, therefore, if we lay before our readers the story of the assistance extended by them to the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

In autumn, 1807, the Sulpician Father William Valentine Dubourg, at that time President of the newly founded St. Mary's College, Baltimore, was on a visit to his friend, Father Sibourd, curate at St. Peter's, New York. While saying Mass a day or two after his arrival and giving Holy Communion, he was greatly struck by a lady communicant who approached the Lord's table with a flood of tears. He related the incident to his friend, M. Sibourd, who told him that the devout lady was a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Seton. He proceeded to give the Sulpician an account of the young widow (Mrs. Seton was thirty-two years old at the time) and spoke of her in terms of the warmest admiration, when there was a tap at the door and Mrs. Seton herself was ushered in. After the usual greetings, M. Dubourg, who was a remarkably sympathetic man, became interested in the widow's story which we shall here briefly relate.

Mrs. Seton was the daughter of Dr. Richard Bayley, a New York physician of eminence, for he had been the Health Officer

of the port. She was born in 1774 of Episcopalian parents. She lost her mother when only three years old. The father, however, who, while not especially interested in religion, was deeply conscious of his duty to his little orphans, made Elizabeth the companion of his life and developed in her feelings of the warmest affection which grew more intense as the years rolled by. Elizabeth, who had been born two years before the outbreak of the War of Independence, partly because of the turbulence of the times and partly because the New York of those days afforded but few educational advantages, grew up with little more than a plain English training. She was naturally bright and fond of reading and her father fostered this taste. She read serious books by preference, and above all gave much time to the reading of the Bible, which was her daily companion. He developed her natural talents, and in the course of time she became a thoughtful girl whose mind naturally expressed itself in striking images, and who took pleasure in writing down her thoughts whether in letters to her friends or in notes for private use. She also took great delight in the beauties of nature, the glories of the heavens and the charms of animal and plant life. All these were to her an expression of the greatness and the power of God. In her twentieth year she was married to Mr. William Seton, a young New York business man, son of a gentleman highly respected as a member of the prominent firm of Seton & Maitland. The union proved a very happy one and was soon blessed with a daughter, Anna, and later with four more children. However, after the birth of the second child, when Mrs. Seton barely escaped with her own life, her husband began to show symptoms of the disease which ultimately carried him off. Before her marriage, Elizabeth, while attentive to her religious duties and showing the religious sentiment usual among the young ladies of the Episcopal denomination, gave no signs of remarkable piety. Her husband and his family, except her eldest sister-in-law, Rebecca, were by no means unusually devout. On the other hand, the deaths of her father-in-law and her father made a deep impression upon her and led her to feel the omnipotence of God and

to meditate on the problem of eternity. Naturally her husband's incurable disease influenced her in the same direction. At this time a clergyman of Trinity Church, the Reverend M. Hobart, acquired no little authority over her. He seems to have been sympathetic and to have had a clear understanding of her character. All these influences strengthened her religious feelings and her letters and writings plainly show their effects.

As years rolled on, the disease which had gripped her husband gradually increased its hold on him and, as a last remedy, Mrs. Seton resolved to take him to Italy where before his marriage he had been greatly benefited by the climate of Pisa. He had become acquainted in the United States with Mr. Philip Filicchi, who with his brother Antonio was a prosperous merchant in Leghorn. To Leghorn, therefore, Mrs. Seton, accompanied by her daughter Anna, resolved to take her sick husband. But all to no avail. William Seton died in Pisa and his death was followed by further misfortunes. Anna was infected by scarlet fever and after her recovery Mrs. Seton herself was stricken with the same complaint. From their arrival in Leghorn, the Filicchi family had done all that the truest friendship could do for the American wanderers, but their kindness never shone more brightly than during these sad days. Nothing that good will could suggest was left undone.

The brothers Filicchi were remarkable gentlemen. They were great merchants but greater Christians. They were able business men but their hearts were even more interested in the cause of virtue and religion than in commerce. During her husband's illness and after his death, Mrs. Seton's deeply religious character had excited the admiration of the brothers and interested them in her spiritual welfare. They had drawn the attention of the American lady to the claims of the Catholic Church and the deficiencies of the Episcopalian. On her part, Elizabeth, both during her husband's and her own sickness, was profoundly impressed by the religious life and principles of her Italian friends, for Philip Filicchi was a man well versed in Catholic doctrine and enlightened his guest on many points of controversy. He copied for her a statement of Catholic doc-

trine written by a learned friend of his at Gubbio, named Joseph Pecci, a remarkable setting forth of Catholic truth, clear and brief.¹ Shortly before her departure from Italy, Mrs. Seton also visited several of the churches of Florence and vicinity where she was greatly moved by the divine service and was above all impressed by the Catholic belief in the Real Presence. All her religious experiences, aided by the always ready scholarship of Philip Filicchi and his well selected books explaining Catholic teaching and ritual, led Mrs. Seton to conceive a great admiration for Catholics and their Church. She was determined to examine the claims of the Catholic Church and was in fact all but satisfied that it was the Church established by Christ and the Apostles.

During her home voyage she continued her studies, and on her arrival in New York she was in a state of mind that bordered on conviction. But serious struggles awaited her. Most of her husband's family spared no effort to prevent her from deserting their Church and the Rev. Mr. Hobart did his best to deter her from taking what he thought would be a fatal step. She hesitated, consulted some of the Catholic clergymen to whom Antonio Filicchi, who had come with her to the United States, recommended her. It is touching to read her appeals for advice and instruction made to Bishop Carroll, Father Cheverus and others. At last, with the help of God, she made a strenuous effort and on March 14, 1804, was received into the Church by the Rev. Matthew O'Brien at St. Peter's, New York. Thus yielding to her conviction, she drew down upon herself a storm of bitterness from most of her husband's family and many of her friends. She had returned from Europe a poor widow, for her husband's fortune was wrecked. She had hitherto depended upon her relatives. Now this support was withheld. Under these critical circumstances Antonio Filicchi in his own and his brother's name came forward most generously to assure the existence and the support of the widow and orphans. He was

¹This document is given in full in vol. i, p. 151 of Archbishop Robert Seton's "Memoir, Letters and Journal of Mrs. Seton," and is a powerful, concise and cogent explanation of Catholic doctrine.

Was Joseph Pecci a relative of Leo XIII?

willing to pay for the education of the two boys at a Catholic school in Montreal, and there was some talk of Mrs. Seton's going to teach in a Montreal convent where the girls were to be entered as scholars. But these plans had no practical results. The boys were afterward sent to Georgetown, where the Filicchi paid the fees. To Mrs. Seton they made an allowance of \$600 a year. This with her salary as teacher in a New York private school enabled her to maintain herself and her girls. In all these arrangements Mrs. Seton was guided by some of the Catholic friends to whom she had been introduced by Antonio Filicchi even before her conversion, the most notable of whom were Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, the Rev. Mr. Cheverus, the Rev. Dr. Matignon and especially a French clergyman residing in Elizabeth, N. J., named Tisserant. Besides these the pastors of St. Peter's Church in New York, chiefly the Rev. Mr. Sibourd, were her confidential advisors.

We have thus brought down Mrs. Seton's story to August, 1807, when, as we have related, she met with the Sulpician President of St. Mary's College at the rectory of St. Peter's. The conversation naturally dealt with the plans of the widow who spoke of her effort to enter the convent at Montreal where her daughters were to be educated. The Sulpician, who was a sympathetic and generous soul, spoke at once of starting a school in Baltimore. This he thought might lead to the foundation of a Congregation of nuns to further Catholic education. The idea was entirely in accord with the feelings of Mrs. Seton, but no practical steps were then taken to realize the scheme. She continued to make her living by boarding some school children, in a cottage on the outskirts of New York, where disagreeable incidents often reminded her of the precariousness of her position. In this way the time passed until the spring of 1808, when M. Dubourg came to New York on the occasion of the burial of Mr. James Barry, a mutual friend. When he met Mrs. Seton the latter half playfully alluded to the scheme of starting a school in Baltimore. The Sulpician warmly urged her to come to Baltimore, telling her that instead of waiting to erect a building on the seminary grounds it would be more advan-

tageous to rent a house on Paca Street only a few hundred feet away from St. Mary's College. M. Dubourg spoke with such earnestness as a man of experience that Mrs. Seton's doubts were dispelled.

She began to make preparations at once for her removal and on June 9, 1808, set sail for Baltimore. On Corpus Christi day, 1808, she arrived there and assisted at the dedication of the seminary chapel. "After Mass," Mrs. Seton tells her sister-in-law, "I was in the arms of M. Dubourg's sister, surrounded by so many caresses and blessings. My wonder is how I got through it all. The feelings were lost with delight." Next she was taken to the house of M. Dubourg's sister, Mrs. Fournier, where she met that lady's children and her brother. In the evening one of Mrs. Fournier's children recited a poetic welcome to the new arrival, written in French by the Sulpician Father Babade, who so impressed Elizabeth that she chose him to be her confessor. With the help of her new acquaintances she was soon established in her Baltimore home and before long had a circle of interested friends in the Maryland city. The Sulpician Fathers especially in every way showed her the warmest proofs of their friendship, from the venerable Superior M. Nagot down to the youngest member. She herself was busy preparing to open the school in September, when to her great joy there was no lack of pupils, every place in her school being filled. Nor was the project of making the school the basis of a new Congregation of teaching Sisters especially for poor children lost sight of, and M. Babade warmly supported the scheme which had the approval of Bishop Carroll, M. Cheverus and Mrs. Seton's other friends. It was Father Babade who brought the first recruit to Elizabeth from Philadelphia in the person of Miss Cecilia O'Conway, a young lady who at the time thought of going to Europe to join a religious order. She was followed by two more Philadelphia ladies, Miss Maria Murphy and Miss Mary Ann Butler, who were soon joined by Miss Susan Clossy of New York.

When, in the spring of 1809, President Dubourg saw this little band gathered in Mrs. Seton's school, he thought it time to

take steps in order to realize the plan of the new religious organization. She therefore, with her companions, assumed a uniform dress and with M. Dubourg's assistance a code of rules was devised for the regular government of the community. At the same time Mrs. Seton bound herself by a formal vow, taken in the presence of Bishop Carroll, to the practice of poverty, chastity and obedience. M. Dubourg was appointed ecclesiastical superior of the community so organized in a tentative way though for the present it was not determined to associate it with any existing body of religious. While no name was definitely adopted for the new organization, it was for the present designated as the Sisters of St. Joseph at the suggestion of Mrs. Seton.

About this time there was at St. Mary's Seminary studying theology, a convert from Philadelphia named Samuel Cooper. He was a man of some means which he felt he ought to give to God and the Church. The thought came to him that he could do most good by devoting it to the education of poor Catholic children and he spoke of his purpose to M. Dubourg. Simultaneously Mrs. Seton spoke to M. Dubourg of her desire to give herself especially to the education of the children of the poor. The Sulpician brought the two together and Mr. Cooper resolved to appropriate to this purpose some \$8,000 that he had at his disposal. Next arose the question of selecting a place for the new institution and the advice of Bishop Carroll and the Sulpician Superior, M. Nagot, was sought. After some hesitation they approved of Mr. Cooper's choice. This was the now well-known St. Joseph's Valley near the village of Emmitsburg, in western Maryland. M. Nagot at one time intended himself to accompany the Sisters to Emmitsburg, but ill health finally prevented the carrying out of this purpose. On June 21, 1809, Mother Seton with her daughter, her two sisters-in-law and Sister Cecilia O'Conway, left Baltimore to occupy the Emmitsburg property. On arriving there, however, the house which was to be their home was not ready for occupancy and the Sulpician Father Dubois, afterward Bishop of New York, surrendered his own residence to them and retired

to the seminary, which was not yet completed. M. Dubois afterward was the superior of St. Joseph's community for a number of years.

In the want and distress which afflicted St. Joseph's community during the first year or two of its struggle for existence and in the prolonged illness of some of the Sisters, especially Mother Seton's sisters-in-law, M. Dubois faithfully and generously helped the nascent Sisterhood with material means where he could, and with personal service at all times. When at length less trying days smiled upon the patient little band, it was thought wise to organize the proposed Congregation more definitely. Meantime some changes had occurred among the superiors of St. Joseph's community. M. Dubourg, the first superior, had been called to new duties as Bishop of Louisiana and his place had been filled by M. David, afterward coadjutor to Bishop Flaget at Bardstown. M. David in his turn had been replaced by M. Dubois, the head of St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg.

Bishop Carroll and the Sulpician superiors of St. Joseph's in casting about for the rules to be adopted by their protégées had concluded that the rule of the Daughters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul, with some modifications, would best meet their wants. When, therefore, M. Flaget after his promotion to the see of Bardstown visited France, he was requested to obtain for St. Joseph's a copy of the constitution which St. Vincent de Paul had drawn up for his Daughters of Charity. On his return they were given to Mother Seton for her examination. By her they were turned over to Bishop Carroll and M. Dubourg as Superior of St. Joseph's. After careful consideration and study, it was determined to adopt as far as possible the rules of the Daughters of Charity which, however, needed some modification to suit them to American circumstances. The principal point on which the rules were changed concerned the activities of the Sisters in the schools, for the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent devoted themselves entirely to the service of poor children unable to pay for their education. This could be done in France because the nuns had an

assured income from other sources. In the United States, on the contrary, Mother Seton's Sisterhood had no income whatever, and the Sisters must therefore earn their daily bread in part by their teaching activity. However, from the beginning, Mother Seton's community largely devoted themselves to the education of the poor, and in later years this has been their principal work. Father Dubois therefore felt obliged to recommend to Bishop Carroll a change in the rules so as to allow the American Sisterhood to take charge of schools for pupils that paid for their tuition. Another change proposed was temporary. It permitted Mother Seton, notwithstanding her vows, to remain the legal guardian of her children.

With the changes spoken of the rules were approved by Archbishop Carroll in the following words: "I have read and endeavored in the presence of God to examine the constitutions of the Sisters of Charity which have been submitted to me by the Reverend Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice and have approved them, believing them inspired by the Spirit of God and calculated to conduct the Sisters to religious perfection." The following document also accompanied the new constitutions:

"After having read with great attention the constitutions of the Sisters of Charity, and approved all that they contain, I have presented them to the Very Reverend Archbishop Carroll to obtain his approbation. At the same time I have confirmed and here confirm anew the nomination of Rev. John Dubois as Superior General of the Congregation.

"Jean Tessier, Superior of St. Sulpice."

The constitutions vested the government of the Society in a Mother Superior and her Assistant, a Treasurer and a Procuratrix, but provided besides for a Superior-general, who was to be consulted in all important matters both temporal and spiritual. As first Superior-general, M. Tessier appointed M. Dubois, the President of St. Mary's College, thus continuing the traditional guardianship which the Sulpicians had extended to the Sisters of St. Joseph from the beginning. The constitutions, which Archbishop Carroll had thus approved were sub-

mitted to the votes of the twenty Sisters who were members of the Society at this time. They were informed that they were free to sever their connection with the Society, but only one availed herself of this right.

The Sisterhood so established with the aid of the Sulpician Fathers grew more and more prosperous from year to year under the Superior-generalship of Father Dubois and the government of Mother Seton. Before long St. Joseph's was strong enough to send a colony to Philadelphia and this was followed by a delegation of three Sisters to Mount St. Mary's College. In June, 1817, the new orphan asylum of New York was confided to the spiritual daughters of the New York lady who had been practically forced to leave her native city by her relatives.

Until 1817 the Sisters of St. Joseph had not been legally incorporated. Their property was held in the names of Samuel Cooper, William Valentine Dubourg and John Dubois, the last two members of the Society of St. Sulpice. After the adoption of the constitutions, it was befitting that the new Society should be incorporated and legally invested with its property at Emmitsburg. It is related that Mother Seton did not see the advantage of this change and asked of what service it would be to the Sisterhood. It will enable the Sisterhood to sue and to be sued, was the reply. Mother Seton shook her head and remained unconvinced. The friends of the Sisters, however, appealed to the Maryland Legislature for an act of incorporation and through the influence of General Robert Harper, son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, this was granted in January, 1817, and the Sisters of St. Joseph became the legal owners of the Emmitsburg property.

Mother Seton was bound by the strongest ties of friendship and confidence to the Superior-general, M. Dubois, and under them the community flourished to such a degree that, as we have seen, it was able to send out several colonies before her death, on January 4, 1821.¹ She was assisted in her last moments by another Sulpician who had proved a devoted friend to

¹The Society of St. Joseph expanded and flourished for eleven years under Mother Seton, though since 1818 the energetic foundress was failing in health.

her not only in the government of her Society but also in family affairs. This was the sympathetic M. Simon Bruté, later Bishop of Vincennes, a man who in character and disposition was in many ways the counterpart of Mother Seton.

The latter was succeeded as superior by Sister Rose White, a Baltimore lady who had proved her executive ability as Sister Servant of the house at Philadelphia. M. Dubois guided and assisted the new head of the Society with the same zeal and fidelity with which he had aided the foundress. Indeed, he took such live interest in the Sisterhood that on his being raised to the see of New York, he thought of transferring the mother-house from St. Joseph's Valley to the Metropolis, a change that did not meet with Archbishop Maréchal's favor. When Bishop Dubois settled in New York, M. Louis Regis Deluol took his place as Superior of St. Joseph's. He was a professor of theology at St. Mary's Seminary and, as we have seen, an able, energetic and attractive gentleman. He lost no time in showing that the Sisters had a valuable friend in their new Superior. He worked with such unwearied zeal in their behalf that some of his Sulpician superiors in Europe deemed it wise to moderate his zeal. In 1829, there appeared M. Carrière, who received M. Tessier's resignation and appointed M. Deluol Superior of St. Mary's Seminary. The program of the French Superior, M. Garnier, was, as the reader will remember, to free the American Sulpicians from all duties except those of seminary professors. M. Carrière therefore advised M. Deluol to give up his position as immediate Superior of the Emmitsburg Sisters. This he did and named M. Hickey his successor. However, his title of Superior of the Seminary gave him a kind of guardianship or protectorate over the Sisters of Charity and he continued to work with vigor and zeal for the interests of the nuns. It was in no slight degree due to his energetic work that during his administration the Sisters were charged with nine parochial schools, seven orphan asylums, three academies and four hospitals.

In 1846, during the administration of Mother Etienne, who, after Mother Rose White's decease, had become the Superior

of the Sisters of Charity, the separation of the New York Sisters from the Sisters of St. Joseph at Emmitsburg took place. The correspondence between Bishop Hughes of New York and the Maryland Sisters was largely conducted by M. Deluol. The differences between the Bishop and the Sisterhood originated in a rule adopted by the American nuns from the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, which allowed the Sisters to have only a limited superintendence of boys' orphan asylums. In New York the American Sisters managed the boys' orphan asylum as well as that of the girls. M. Deluol and Mother Etienne and her council thought it was time to revert to the strict rule of St. Vincent de Paul, while Bishop Hughes insisted upon maintaining conditions as they were. This led to a correspondence conducted on the part of the Sisterhood by M. Deluol. In the end, he agreed on behalf of the Society that he would give a dispensation to those of the Sisters stationed in the New York diocese who preferred to become members of the new Sisterhood with rules mostly the same as the rules of the Sisters of St. Joseph, but of which Bishop Hughes was to be the Superior (1846). The rest of the Sisters of St. Joseph remained under the government of their Superior-general, Mother Etienne, and under the supervision of the Archbishop of Baltimore and the protectorate of M. Deluol. From 1841, when M. Hickey gave up the directorship of the Sisters, M. Deluol had also assumed the duties of that office. Even during the time that M. Hickey was Superior-general, resident at Emmitsburg, M. Deluol had displayed the utmost energy in furthering the interest of the Sisters. Now, however, he redoubled his efforts to promote their work and we have already seen with what success. The Sisters had houses in many of the Middle and Western States. The blessing scattered throughout the United States by these modest ladies cannot be estimated and their name was held in honor throughout every part of the American Church.

To such prosperity the Sisters of St. Joseph had attained with the assistance of their Sulpician directors and under their wise guardianship. The ties between the Sisterhood and the

Society of St. Sulpice were very strong and the Sisters looked with gratitude and confidence to the Fathers who had aided their institution from its birth to its present state of vigor. M. Deluol, on his part, as time went on devoted himself to the duties of his Protectorate with more and more ardor. Still he did not forget that the laws of his Society and the wishes of his superiors in France had decreed the separation of the Sisterhood and the gentlemen of St. Sulpice. As early as 1835, he had inaugurated active measures to give up the guardianship the Sulpicians had always exercised over the Sisters and to unite them with the French Sisters of Charity founded by St. Vincent de Paul. In that year Archbishop Eccleston requested the Lazarist Visitor-general, M. Timon, afterward Bishop of Buffalo, to urge the Lazarist superiors in France to bring about the union of the American Sisterhood with the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul. The French superiors did not approve of the plan. Ten years later, however, shortly before the differences between Bishop Hughes and the Sisters of St. Joseph occurred, new negotiations were opened. The bearer of these new proposals was Bishop Chanche of Natchez. He represented Archbishop Eccleston, M. Deluol, the Sulpician Protector of the American Sisters, and Mother Etienne their Superior-general. The Lazarist Superior whose name was also Etienne, at first did not listen with favor to the American bishop. However, when the latter presented to M. Etienne the formal demand of the American Sisterhood to be united with the French Sisters of Charity, signed by the Archbishop, the Sulpician Protector and Mother Etienne, the Lazarist asked time for consideration. Just then Father Maller was in the United States as Visitor-general of the Lazarist houses. To him M. Etienne wrote on April 5, 1849, regarding the project and instructed him to see personally the Archbishop of Baltimore, the Sulpician Fathers and the Sisters at Emmitsburg. He did so and reported that all the parties interested sincerely desired the union of the American with the French Sisters. Before his departure for France, M. Deluol entrusted to him a letter to M. Etienne impressing upon the latter the advan-

tages of the proposed union. M. Maller's report convinced the Lazarist Superior of the opportuneness of the step and the request of the American Sisters was duly granted on July 7, 1849. When on March 25, 1850, the American Sisters renewed their vows, it was done according to the forms used by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in France. Finally the Emmitsburg Sisters and the Sisters of all the houses dependent upon them assumed the habit of the French Sisters on December 8, 1851. Before departing for Europe M. Deluol resigned his functions as Protector of the Sisterhood and at his last visit to St. Joseph's convent, Emmitsburg, bade them an affectionate farewell at the same time impressing upon them the advantages they would derive from their new connection and wishing them godspeed for the future.

Thus were severed the ties that bound the Sisters of St. Joseph to the Society of St. Sulpice, forty-two years after Mother Seton, with the help of M. Dubourg and his confrères, laid the foundation of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The Sulpicians had stood by the Sisters in the days of trial and poverty. They had guided them through the dangers and weakness of infancy until the humble house at Emmitsburg had become the mother of many schools, hospitals, and orphan asylums scattered over the Middle, the Western and the Southern States and promising further expansion in the future. The Sulpicians gave up their charge, which they had so faithfully and laboriously carried out, not for reasons of self interest, but because they saw in it the advantage of the Sisterhood and because their superiors were convinced that it was God's will as expressed in their rules and traditions.

THE OBLATE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE

The French Revolution brought in its wake a series of revolutionary disorders in the island of San Domingo and other French colonies. As a consequence many colonists were murdered and more fled from their homes. Of these many took refuge in the United States and especially in Baltimore. Many of them were saved by their faithful slaves, who accompanied them in their flight. In this way not a few colored Catholics

came to Baltimore. They were mostly persons of exemplary piety. On settling in Baltimore, they were hospitably received by the Sulpician Fathers of St. Mary's Seminary. This was all the more natural as the West Indian refugees did not speak English and therefore sought spiritual assistance from the gentlemen of St. Sulpice, whose native language was French. Moreover, among the Sulpicians recently arrived was M. William Valentine Dubourg, afterward Bishop of New Orleans, who was a native of San Domingo and therefore took a special interest in the poor colored refugees. He it was who, in 1796, started a catechism class for them. When he departed from Baltimore, he left his colored protégées to M. Tessier, who afterward became the second Superior of the Sulpician Fathers. This faithful priest became devotedly attached to his colored flock and for thirty-one years zealously looked after the spiritual interest of these good people, serving them as a regular confessor and instructing them in their religion. In 1827, the San Domingo colored Catholics were transferred from the care of M. Tessier to that of the Rev. Jacques Nicolas Joubert de la Muraille, who was destined to become the founder of the colored Sisters of Providence. M. Joubert began his ministry on the same plan as that followed by M. Tessier. He catechised the children. His experience was not very happy. The first Sunday his class knew but little of their lesson and notwithstanding his earnest exhortation the next Sunday brought no better results. Nor was this strange. The class, young and old, hardly knew how to read. How, therefore, could they know their catechism. M. Joubert pondered over the situation. He could not see much hope unless his scholars first learned enough to read the catechism. This, he saw, would require the founding of a school. He was fully conscious of the obstacles in the way of such a plan. But M. Joubert was not easily daunted. He spoke of his plan to M. Tessier, who approved of it, but suggested that it required money, and he did not see where the money was to come from. He directed M. Joubert to Archbishop Maréchal. That prelate equally commended the plan, but also shrugged his shoulders when there was question of finding the means. M. Joubert

saw that patience was the only remedy for the time. Seven months later under date of March, 1828, we read in his diary that he was more convinced than ever of the need of a school for colored girls and again spoke of his scheme to M. Tessier and to Monseigneur Whitfield, the administrator of the diocese. They left him free to try whether he could not find a way to realize his plan. He was not the man to shirk difficulties when he had made up his mind that something ought to be done. His training and experience made him a determined man, whom obstacles rather attracted than discouraged.

Jacques Nicolas Joubert de la Muraille was a native of St. Jean D'Angely on the west coast of France. He was born September 6, 1777. At the age of three or four, his parents moved to Beauvais, whence in due time he was sent to the military school at Rebois en Brie. However, for some reason, he abandoned the soldier's career and secured a position in the tax department. At the age of twenty-three he was commissioned by the French tax department to go to San Domingo, which was a hot-bed of disorder. He remained there for three years, when he was driven out by the rebels and took refuge in Cuba. His uncle, C. Joubert de Maine, who had been a wealthy and prominent man in San Domingo, was also obliged to leave that island and he and his nephew later found their way to Baltimore. Here Nicolas in 1805 entered St. Mary's Seminary. In 1810 he was ordained and shortly after became a member of the Society of St. Sulpice. His character and career pointed him out to his superiors as a man of business likely to enforce order. Accordingly from the first we find him employed as the chief disciplinarian of the college, to which was subsequently added the treasureship. At the same time, he was instructor in French and geography. While as teacher and as disciplinarian he maintained the strictest order, he was, nevertheless, well liked by the students. Thus he was employed from 1810-1828 when he was placed in charge of the catechetical instruction given to the colored people.

Having been left free by the administrator of the diocese and his superior to try his plan of establishing a school for the in-

struction of the colored people, his eyes were directed primarily to the colored San Domingo exiles. It was they who formed the whole or the principal part of the catechism classes instituted in the seminary chapel. As these people for many years spoke only the French language, the catechism was taught only in French. But M. Joubert took charge of this colored catechism class more than thirty years after the establishment of the colored congregation by MM. Dubourg and Tessier and probably at this time the catechism was taught in English. From entries in the diary of the Sisters, we learn that addresses in French were delivered before them even much later, and that the Sisters regarded their French address as a peculiar favor, whence we infer that English was the language usually employed at the services of the Church. At all events, it is certain that the colored San Domingo exiles were much better educated than the average American slave population, for the colored ladies that M. Joubert called upon to assist him to found the Oblate Sisters of Providence were colored teachers at that time presiding over a school for colored children in Baltimore. One of these was a Cuban lady named Elizabeth Lange, while the other two, Marie Rosine Boëgue and Marie Frances Balais, came from San Domingo. In March, 1828, M. Joubert met two of these women and learned from them that for some ten years preceding they had thought of founding a school for colored girls, that MM. Babade and Moranvillé had encouraged them in this project and that in fact for the last year they had kept such a school where they taught colored children gratuitously. However, as they had not the means to continue the work, they had given up the school. M. Joubert on thinking over his plans concluded that to make the school permanent, it would be better to start a society of Religious, who would be kept together by their vows and their piety. As this was an idea already entertained by the colored women, his plan was readily accepted. On April 22d, therefore, he met two of the three women and agreed to begin work. To provide the money necessary Mrs. Chatard, wife of the well known Baltimore physician of that name, the grandfather of the future Bishop of Indianapolis,

and Mrs. Ducatel volunteered to gather subscriptions among their friends. The colored women thereupon hired a house on St. Mary's Court and took possession of it June 13, 1828. Eleven boarders and nine day scholars attended the school from the start.

Though the Sisters were still novices, Elizabeth Lange was made superior of the community. Before they had concluded their novitiate on June 1, 1829, they were joined by Marie Thérèse Duchemin who prepared herself to take her vows along with the other three women. This event took place on June 2, 1829, not without some alarm on the part of the Sisters. There were rumors in the city of what was going to take place and some narrow-minded people declared that the profession of the colored Sisters would be a profanation of the habit. The women in their simplicity consulted M. Joubert, who encouraged them and told them not to fear. Afterthoughts, however, made him hesitate and he went to consult Archbishop Whitfield, who made him proceed with the ceremony saying that he had considered every phase of the case beforehand. As we hear no more of opposition to the Sisterhood and as ladies of the highest rank, like Mrs. Chatard and Mrs. Ducatel and their friends, did not hesitate to become their patrons openly, we are justified in inferring that the good Sisters were frightened by idle rumors. At all events, they were convinced before long that they were under the protection of the highest authorities in the Church. On October 21, 1829, Archbishop Whitfield, accompanied by Bishops Flaget, Fenwick and Rosati and by the future Bishops Bruté of Vincennes and Blanc of New Orleans, paid his first visit to the school. Bishop Flaget when asked to bless the Sisters told them that though they were but four at the time, they would number twelve in two years. A fortnight afterward Bishop England of Charleston honored the new community with a visit and after reading the rules of the Sisters expressed his full satisfaction.

The school flourished from the start. Less than a twelve-month after it was opened, the house occupied by it was too small. The Sisters purchased a home from Dr. Chatard which had to be enlarged to satisfy the needs of the school. On

July 12, 1830, the children who had been prepared for first Communion, their parents and their friends assembled in the lower chapel of the seminary, where the ceremony took place, to the great edification of parents and pupils. In due time, the commencement took place in presence of Father Tessier and Father Wheeler who addressed the audience. Bishop Flagnet's prediction proved to be correct. On October 19, 1831, the Sisters really numbered a full dozen.

On March 22, 1832, the rescript of the Roman Propaganda was received from Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., of the Roman College approving of the new Congregation. Hereafter, instead of a promise, the Sisters made three simple vows, to be renewed every year. The ceremony took place for the first time on July 2, 1832. Before long the Sisters were called upon by the civil authorities to render service to the city of Baltimore, on the occasion of the cholera epidemic which invaded the city. They sent four of the Sisters to the almhouse to nurse the sick. After rendering efficient service, they returned to their home in Richmond Street without suffering any loss. They received the thanks of the trustees of the poor house.

As we have stated, the Sisters' school prospered from the beginning. The spirit of the community was exemplary. They were zealous, self-sacrificing, loyal and characterized by the most edifying simplicity. They were, moreover, animated with the deepest loyalty to their founder and director, M. Joubert, who was their prudent and benevolent guide for many years. In the diary of the nuns, this loyalty and simplicity is expressed in most touching language. Though M. Joubert occasionally found it necessary to "scold" his children, he was always their venerated Father. During his last illness, they accompanied him from day to day with their affectionate prayers until he died on November 5, 1843.

M. Joubert was the first and last Sulpician director of the colored Sisters of Providence. The movement to disembarass the American Society of St. Sulpice had set in some years before and steadfastness to principle led them to place in other hands the Oblate Sisters of Providence, as they did the Sisters of Charity a few years later.

CHAPTER X

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, 1829-1852

The sword of Damocles, as we have seen, threatened St. Mary's College from the time of M. Carrière's visit in 1829 and the life of the college hung, so to say, on a thread. Yet these were the halcyon days of the institution. It grew in the number of its teachers and of its scholars, in its reputation and popularity and in the thoroughness of its work. It is now time to return to the history of the college and to pursue its inner and outer fortunes.

We have seen that in 1829 M. Damphoux, who had been the president of the College for eleven years, resigned his office and severed his connection with St. Sulpice. He was succeeded by M. Samuel Eccleston whose acquaintance we have made on more than one occasion in the course of our narrative. He was himself an alumnus of St. Mary's College, a distinguished scholar, an attractive orator and a man of affairs. He was affable and dignified, a learned priest who inspired respect and love and whose merits were appreciated by his colleagues as well as by the students of the college. He was an admirable representative of Sulpician methods and the Sulpician body.

But M. Eccleston was not destined to rule St. Mary's for a long time. So distinguished and able a man, no matter how modest, how averse to promotion to the hierarchy, and how true to the Sulpician principles could not escape the fate of being raised to the episcopacy. In 1834, when he had only been president of St. Mary's for five years, M. Eccleston became the fifth Archbishop of Baltimore. His successor as president of the college was his most intimate friend, M. Chanche, like Archbishop Eccleston, a Marylander. Born in 1795 of French parents, who had been exiled from San Domingo, he received his entire education under the Sulpicians at Baltimore and was a thorough son of M. Olier. A handsome man, a polished gentleman, an eloquent orator, a born disciplinarian, he became a member of the college faculty even before his ordination and captivated all with whom he came in contact. Older by six

years than M. Eccleston and nominated to the coadjutorship of Baltimore before him, he succeeded in placing that dignity on the shoulders of his younger confrère and was himself promoted to the presidency of the college. Here he remained for six years, greatly admired and beloved, not without having to struggle against the elevation to the coadjutorship of Boston to which Bishop Fenwick insisted upon promoting him.

In 1841 M. Chanche became Bishop of Natchez. His successor, M. Raymond, was a native of France who, though an able and amiable man, seems at times not to have been understood by the boys of St. Mary's. Even before he became actual president, while Bishop Chanche expected the Bulls which made him Bishop of Natchez, the spirit of fun seems to have tempted the boys. A disturbance after supper on February 8, 1841, resulted in serious consequences to the rioters, seven of whom were expelled. In January, 1848, we find new symptoms of insubordination mentioned in M. Deluol's diary. At all events it was thought wise to place M. Raymond as president of the newly founded St. Charles' College, and to bring Father Oliver Jenkins to St. Mary's. With the latter's arrival, order and discipline re-entered St. Mary's and marked the last years of the college. The institution was as popular to the end as it had been in the heyday of its prosperity, and was not forgotten by its alumni half a century after its closing.

The course of studies followed at St. Mary's during the last twenty years of its existence did not essentially differ from the curriculum we have described above. Indeed, these were days of educational conservatism, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, among Catholic and non-Catholics, there was no evidence of revolutionary innovation in the field of education. Besides, from its organization, as we have seen, the college had been in the van of the educational movement and maintained itself in this position until the close of its career. The faculty and instructors during this time were not inferior to the educators who had given so progressive an impulse from the start. Some of the best professors who had done most to give St. Mary's its initial reputation were still alive.

Others had passed away, but had been replaced by men of equal merit. The Sulpicians, MM. Joubert, Hickey, Elder, Knight and Lhomme, had been members of the faculty, some for a longer, some for a shorter time before 1829, and all remained but M. Hickey to the closing of the college. To these must be added M. Vérot, the scientist, and Mr. Pizarro, the professor of Spanish, who were prominent members of the teaching body. The faculty, as far as its principal members are concerned, consisted of well-tried veterans of whose ability and experience there could be no question. We are already acquainted with the merits of M. Joubert as a disciplinarian and of M. Hickey as teacher of English Literature and Rhetoric. M. Lhomme was an able Greek scholar and M. Radanne, the professor of Latin, was the author of a Latin Grammar which was used at St. Mary's and in other institutions for many years. Its merits were attested by the fact that it had quite a number of editions. Professor Pizarro published a book of Spanish dialogues. He was the teacher of S. Teakle Wallis, who subsequently became a correspondent member of the Spanish Academy, but never forgot what he owed to his old professor. He is said to have helped his former teacher in his old age, and to have provided for his burial in his own family plot. Of M. Vérot, who afterward became Bishop of Savannah, we have already said that he was a distinguished scientist and mathematician who became the friend of many other American scientific scholars, especially of Professor Henry, the head of the Smithsonian Institution.

The elementary instruction and the discipline of the college was largely in the hands of Seminarians, some of whom acquired a great reputation subsequently. However, there were also lay professors who taught at the college for quite a number of years and who were probably not seminarians. Among them, we note the younger Nenninger, whose activity at the college extended from 1815-39. Samuel Smith (1820-51); M. S. Gallagher (1827-34); H. J. Myers (1827-36). Mr. Kelly was professor of Music from 1823-52. The professor of German in 1843-44 was Maximilian Oertel, a converted

Lutheran minister. Whether he studied for the priesthood we are not aware, but he is well known as the pioneer of the Catholic German press in the United States, having founded the *Katholische Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati. In the fifties he founded the New York *Kirchenzeitung*, which was a well-known Catholic journal in the sixth and seventh decades of the nineteenth century.¹

We see that the faculty of St. Mary's had every claim to be regarded as an able and experienced body and we are not surprised that the college attracted numerous students, many of whom under their training became men of note. The Jubilee volume published by St. Mary's Seminary in 1891 furnishes us with some of the names of the college students who were matriculated there until its close in 1852. This list, however, cannot be considered as complete, while on the other hand, it duplicates and sometimes triplicates some of the names occurring in it. However, it enables us to study the student body in some detail and furnishes the means of learning the component parts of the student body and to ascertain their relative numbers. The results of this study are quite interesting. We do not learn, it is true, the exact number of students at any time, but it is certain that it never reached three hundred. During the last few years, when the approaching suppression of the college became known, the number of students could not fail to decrease. But it is surprising that even to the end, the college had a strong grip upon its clientage.

As in the first period of the history of the college, we ascertain that quite a large proportion of the students were non-Catholics. The names are equally balanced between English names and non-English names. In the latter category we include Irish, German, French, Spanish and Italian names with a very slight sprinkling of Jews. The Hebrews probably did not number more than three in all. Expressed in percentage, we find that the English names amount to about 55 per cent. of the whole, whereas about 11 per cent. each must be credited to the Irish,

¹See biography of M. Oertel by the present writer in "Records and Studies," vol. iv, p. 139 ff.

German, French and Spanish names. We are surprised that the Irish element should prove so weak, but our astonishment is not justified if we bear in mind that in 1852 the strong Irish immigration had only just begun, and that we should not expect recent immigrants to be able to send their children to a boarding college. Of course, the Irish, the Spanish and French contingents were entirely Catholic and the German students were mostly so, being largely derived from the old Catholic Pennsylvania settlement. The 55 per cent. of English names, of course, is largely descended from the old Catholic settlers in Maryland. In fact the records of the college show that between 1818 to 1827 the number of Catholic and Protestant boys nearly balanced one another. In some years the Catholics were in the majority, while in others, sometimes even the very next year, the Protestants were the more numerous. But the excess on either side was usually very small. Surely this is a remarkable testimonial to the tolerance and kindly feeling both of the Catholics and the Protestants. The most of the distinguished names from South Carolina, however, which we remarked in the early period of the college, have disappeared, while we note the new name of Legaré from Charleston. North Carolina sends quite a respectable contingent of students while a much smaller proportion comes from Virginia. The French students are largely Baltimore and Louisiana boys; the number of West Indians seems to diminish. All in all, St. Mary's has kept a strong hold on the Spanish and French West Indians and can still boast of the cosmopolitan character of its students. Of the Catholic Maryland families we find on the rolls of the college the Carrolls, the Jenkinsons, the Knotts, the O'Donnells, the Chataards, the Tiernans, the Boarmans, the Chapelles, the Blenkinsops. Of the non-Catholics, the Howards, the Ellicotts and the Johnsons. Of Pennsylvania Catholic names we note that of Boubier and of the New York names that of Thébaud. The Iturbide name has several representatives, as had the family of Garesché, said to have its home in Delaware.

Among the distinguished alumni of St. Mary's College dur-

ing this period appear Thomas Foley, Coadjutor-Bishop of Chicago (1870-1879), and his brother John Samuel (1851), Bishop of Detroit; the Jesuit Father Charles Hitzelberger of Baltimore (1841). The Reverend J. A. Walter became well known as the pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Washington. He was also distinguished for his charity.¹ The Reverend J. J. Dougherty was for a short time administrator of the archdiocese of Baltimore.

We have already mentioned Severn Teakle Wallis, who was graduated in 1852, and Robert Milligan McLane, graduated in 1840. After graduating at West Point in 1837 and distinguishing himself in the Seminole and other Indian wars he became a lawyer, and was elected to Congress 1845-1851. He afterward served as Minister to China and then to Mexico (1859). He withdrew from political life during the Civil War, but subsequently returned to Congress. He became Governor of Maryland in 1883, resigned in 1885 and was appointed Minister to France the same year. He died there in 1898. Christopher Johnston (1836 and after) became an eminent physician and surgeon, professor of anatomy and physiology and afterward of surgery in the University of Maryland. He was also president of the Maryland Academy of Sciences. Charles O'Donovan (1850) was, like Professor Johnston, a physician of note. Simon Bolivar Daniel Danels (1844), son of John Daniel Danels, captain in the Columbian navy, was for a long time Consul for Venezuela at Baltimore. Oden Bowie, who was graduated in 1845, became Governor of Maryland in the sixties. A. Leo Knott became a distinguished jurist, was Attorney-General of Maryland 1867, 1871 and 1875 and Assistant Postmaster-general under President Cleveland.

St. Mary's College was therefore a flourishing institution in 1845, when M. Garnier died and M. de Courson became Superior-general. Nothing stood in the way of the further progress of the institution. But to the French and many of the American members of St. Sulpice it was looked upon as

¹Father Walter attended Mrs. Surratt before her execution and wrote an account of the same, published in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 353 ff.

an anomaly. They therefore sent M. Faillon to the United States, where he arrived in 1849. As we have before stated, the obstacles which at the time of M. Carrière's visit had made it difficult if not impossible to give up the college had now been in part removed. The contract of the trustees of the college with the Legislature had been completely fulfilled. The Jesuit Fathers were at the same time inclined to establish a college in the city of Baltimore. Negotiations were entered into between the Sulpician and the Jesuit superiors which promised a satisfactory arrangement.

Thus St. Mary's College was destined to disappear from the list of American academic institutions. It had kept faith with the State of Maryland which had so liberally befriended it in its infancy. It had provided for the educational needs of the parents who had so long shown their confidence in the gentlemen of St. Sulpice by entrusting to them their sons. It had earned the gratitude of its alumni by being their true and intelligent mother, who most conscientiously satisfied their moral and intellectual needs. It was to pass away by a voluntary act of devotion to principle to which it sacrificed the most favorable prospects for the future.

THE VERY REV. STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN

PROTO-PRIEST OF THE UNITED STATES

BY REV. W. J. HOWLETT

The pioneer days of our Catholic settlements were great makers of history, but the building-up days that followed were great destroyers of their records. We labor to keep alive the memory of our grandfathers, but we ignore almost altogether what our fathers have done. The coming generation may reproach us with this neglect, and, with a certain amount of justice, attribute it to our desire to assume all the credit for works which we have prosecuted only upon the foundations laid by others. It is now a little over sixty years since the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin passed away, and, although few priests have deserved better of us of the Middle West, no one has yet given to the world a detailed and consecutive history of his eventful life and labors. It is true that those who knew him best were too busy to do this, but there was no reason why others should not be sufficiently interested to preserve the documents necessary for such an undertaking. Many of these are now scattered and lost, and a sketch is all we can now expect. The most vigorous years of his life were spent in laboring in and for Kentucky, yet his greatest monuments are elsewhere, and his body rests in the shadow of one of these—a great university, whose lands were of his purchase and of his gift. Indiana claims his grave, Ohio claims his death-bed, but Kentucky claims his best work and his life-long affiliation.

Stephen Theodore Badin was born at Orléans, France, July 17, 1768, and he tells us that he was carried to the church and baptized twelve hours after his birth. His father and mother were the parents of fifteen children, of whom our subject was the third, but the first in the male line. They were evidently well-to-do and of solid faith, for they were able to give their children a good education, and a religious training that led two

of them to the priesthood. After passing through the schools of his native city Stephen Theodore was sent to Paris, where he spent three years at the Collège Montaigne in the study of the classics and kindred branches. He became specially proficient in Latin, and in his later years he wrote poetry in that language which admirers have compared with that of Vergil and Horace. Some of his poems were turned into English verse by Kean O'Hara, an early Kentucky educator of great ability and father of the poet, Theodore O'Hara. He was a friend and admirer of Father Badin, and this friendship may have had something to do with the naming of his son.

In the memorable year 1789, when momentous events for France and for the world were brewing, young Badin curbed his impetuous nature and entered the ecclesiastical seminary at Orléans to prepare himself for the priesthood under the direction of those masters of clerical training, the Sulpicians. Two years later the force of the French Revolution reached Orléans, and the seminary was closed. The Bishop of Orléans had unfortunately taken the oath of allegiance to the revolutionary government, and this proceeding shut off all hope of preferment from young clerics unless they were to become members of the Constitutional Church. Against this the strong faith of young Badin rebelled, and he determined to go to America and exercise a ministry denied him at home.

With the Rev. Mr. Chicoisneau, the Superior of the late seminary at Orléans, he went to Bordeaux, and there met two of the professors of the Sulpician seminary at Angers, which had suffered the same fate as that of Orléans. These were the Rev. Messrs. Flaget and David, with both of whom his life was afterward to be intimately associated. Together all of these sailed for America in January, 1792. They reached Philadelphia on the 28th of March, and two or three days later arrived at Baltimore, where they were heartily welcomed by Bishop Carroll, who was expecting them. The three Sulpicians immediately attached themselves to the community of their brethren in Baltimore, and Mr. Badin entered the seminary under them to continue his studies for the priesthood.



VERY REV. STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN.

It is probable that Mr. Badin was in minor orders when he came to America, but it is certain that he had not received any of the major orders of the Church at that time. In Spalding's "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," written in 1844, and which the reverend author said "would not probably have been undertaken but for the promised aid and co-operation" of Father Badin, it is stated that Mr. Badin was not in Holy Orders when he came to America. The same author, in writing the "Life of Bishop Flaget" in 1854, calls Badin "a secular subdeacon of the Diocese of Orléans." Most historians who have touched upon the subject since, have followed the latter statement, which I am inclined to think was the result of a lapse of memory on the part of the distinguished author. I am confirmed in this opinion by a letter of Father Badin himself, written at Huntington, Indiana, to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, and now in the American Catholic archives at Notre Dame. It is dated, September 22, 1834, and begins: "The date of this letter reminds me that this day forty-two years ago the first Bishop of Baltimore ordained the first subdeacon of his diocese, and gave the tonsure and minor orders to three or four *ordinandi*. . . . To serve you it would be gratifying to me to extend my labors to the N. W. of your diocese, but the above date of my ordination has already informed you that I am more than sixty-six years of age, etc." This was probably the first ordination of any kind in the United States, and the next must have been when he received the diaconate, but that date seems to be unrecorded. He received the order of the priesthood on May 25, 1793, and thus merited the title, which he often afterward used, of Proto-priest of the United States.

At that time the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll extended over the whole of the United States, and in that part of it covered by Ohio, Tennessee and Kentucky he had not a single priest, if we except one in Kentucky, whose fitness and jurisdiction were doubtful. Many Catholics had gone from Maryland to settle in Kentucky, and Bishop Carroll was ill-prepared to supply them with spiritual help. In 1821, when Father Badin was in Paris, he published a pamphlet on the Kentucky mis-

sions in order to arouse the sympathy and gain the assistance of the French Catholics, and a few extracts from it as it lies before me will give the essence of the situation. He writes:

"A score of poor Catholic families, descendents of the English colonists of Maryland, established themselves in Kentucky in 1785, because they could then procure good land for almost nothing. Their number soon increased, and Father Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, was sent to them in 1788. Owing to the war with the savages, which lasted until 1795, this missionary, two of his successors and the colonists were obliged to pass through a hostile country to arrive at their destination, where also they were often exposed to imminent danger of their lives. Besides being far from any other priest, he had to struggle against poverty and want, against false religions and the widespread prejudices concerning the supposed idolatry of the Catholics, etc. At the end of two years and a half Father Whelan finally abandoned a position he found so difficult to hold, and he had not the satisfaction of seeing a single chapel rise in his entire mission.

"It was impossible at this time to find another missionary to succeed him, and the faithful *suffered much, because they were as a flock without a shepherd* (Zach. x). Finally, in 1793, the priesthood was conferred for the first time in this part of the world, where the Catholics had been groaning but a little while before under the penal laws of England, and the priest first ordained by the illustrious Mr. Carroll, the first Bishop of Baltimore, was Mr. Badin of Orléans, and shortly afterward Bishop Carroll sent him to Kentucky.

"In addition to the difficulties which confronted his predecessor, this young ecclesiastic found new ones in his own inexperience, his imperfect knowledge of English, and his ignorance of the manners and customs of the country. One can easily imagine how painful must have been the situation of a novice thus isolated and deprived of a guide in a ministry whose weight, as the Fathers of the Church tell us, would be formidable to the very angels! It is true that he left Baltimore with another priest, who was invested with the powers of vicar-general, but this priest soon became dissatisfied with the rustic manners of the settlers and with their mode of life, and four months had scarcely passed before he left the settlements and went to New Orleans. Mr. Badin, to his regret, then found himself charged with the entire mission, and for several years was alone in the

care of it, although, especially after peace was concluded with the savages, it continued to grow, through the influx of Catholics who came from Maryland and other countries.

"To the fatigues of his journeys, his controversies with Protestants, his pastoral labors, and his frequent anxieties of conscience, natural enough in such a critical situation, there were added other cares in the forming of new congregations, the securing of convenient locations for future ecclesiastical establishments, and finally, the building of churches or chapels in the different places where the Catholics had settled. However, divine goodness brought him comfort and salutary advice from time to time, through letters which the nearest priest to him found time in his charity to write to him, although he was seventy leagues distant. Rev. Mr. Rivet, a former professor of rhetoric at the college of Limoges, came in 1798, in the quality of pastor and vicar-general, to reside at Vincennes on the Wabash in Indiana. But the demands of their respective missions did not permit that either of these should cross the intervening wilderness to visit the other, and mutually console and encourage each other in the Lord. Oh, what anguish, what longings and tears were born of such isolation! Even Our Divine Saviour sent His disciples two and two to preach the Gospel; *misit illos binos* (St. Luke x).

"At length two priests of the Diocese of Blois came successively, in 1797 and 1799, to the assistance of the shepherd and of the flock. Divine Providence gave to Kentucky, and many other portions of the Diocese of Baltimore, the benefit of the talents and virtues of a large number of priests whom the French Revolution had cast upon the shores of America. In the same year, 1799, there came still a fourth missionary, Mr. Thayer, who had been a Presbyterian minister of Boston, but whose conversion had been brought about by the miracles of the Blessed Labre. At first he ridiculed this poor servant of God and the miracles attributed to him, but he examined all the proofs with a most critical eye, and even with sectarian prejudice, and ended by becoming a Catholic at Rome, a priest at Paris, and a missionary in his native land, where he had formerly preached error. He found himself forced to compose several English works of controversy, which are luminous and convincing, and highly esteemed. His conversion, his writings and his lectures excited the interest or the curiosity of all classes of society. He traveled over much of the United States and Canada, and through a great part of Europe. He died revered and cherished at Limerick, Ireland.

"The missionaries of Kentucky are obliged to go on horseback almost every day of the year, and to brave, often alone, the solitude of the forest, the darkness of night and the inclemency of the season to attend the sick, and to visit their congregations on fixed days. Without this exactitude it would be difficult to gather together the families scattered at considerable distance from each other. When it is necessary to go long distances through these wildernesses, or when, as sometimes happens, the guide loses the way, the missionaries are obliged to pass the night in the woods, and to sleep on the ground near a big fire, by the light of which they recite their breviary.

"Mr. Salmon was, without a doubt, an excellent priest, but he knew very little about horseback riding. His zeal prompted him, on the 9th of November, 1799, to visit a distant congregation, where he was instructing a Protestant lady who has since joined the Faith. Being yet feeble and only recovering from a quite recent and serious illness, he suffered a fall from his horse, which proved fatal to him within thirty-six hours. The accident happened about midday, a short distance from a farmhouse. A hired man found him half dead in the woods and went to the house for help. This was refused by the barbarous and wicked farmer, and for no other reason than because the unfortunate man was a priest. It was only at the approach of night that a good Catholic of the vicinity, a Mr. Gwynn, was informed of the accident. It must be said, however, that the revolting conduct of the farmer is in no wise a common trait of the American character, and it can be attributed only to the hatred of the true religion in this particular instance. It may also have been that he was ignorant of the extremity to which Mr. Salmon was reduced.

"This fatal occurrence, the departure of Mr. Thayer for Ireland, and the equally unlooked-for death of Mr. Fournier in February, 1803, left Mr. Badin once more alone. For seventeen months he was then in sole charge of all the missions, which were composed of about a thousand families scattered over an extent of territory of from seven to eight hundred leagues. The death of Mr. Rivet also occurred in 1803, and deprived him of the consoling letters of this friend, who expired almost in the arms of the Governor of the Territory, whose esteem and affection he possessed in equal degrees.

"At this unfortunate moment the nearest priest was Mr. Olivier of Nantes, a venerable old man who lived at a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues, in a village of Illinois called *Prairie du Rocher*. He also attended *Kaskaskia*, where the

Jesuits at a previous time had a novitiate, St. Louis, the capital of Missouri, St. Genevieve upon the banks of the Missouri, etc. Mr. Richard, a pious and zealous Sulpician, lived at the same distance, at Detroit upon Lake St. Clair in Michigan. The city of Detroit and the church were burned by accident seventeen years ago. It was rebuilt and was captured by the English, aided by the savages, in the last war with the United States. Since the conclusion of peace a cathedral has been built, and the Sovereign Pontiff is soon to fix an Episcopal see there. The missions of Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Post-Vincennes were then almost entirely composed of French Canadians. Upon all the countries mentioned in this narrative one may consult the map of Mr. Arrowsmith, an American geographer. It can be found in Paris at Dezauche's, Rue des Noyers, No. 40.

"It is evident that the more distant settlements can be visited but rarely. It is in them, however, that the zeal of faith and fervor of piety are the more noticeable. Many persons are found in them who make painful journeys in order to fulfil their duties as Christians. They sometimes spend the night in the church so as to be sure of having access to the sacred tribunal, to which the missionaries betake themselves at break of day. Mass must be delayed in order that all who desire to receive Communion may be prepared by the sacrament of reconciliation, and it is read or sung about noon, and sometimes an hour or two later. Neither the fasting, nor the lateness of the hour, nor the fatigues of the day can exempt the priest from giving an instruction to the people at the Mass, otherwise they could never do it, for the people can assemble but once in the day. The priest must be ready to preach, or talk, upon all occasions, on matters of controversy, on moral doctrine, or on the discipline of the Church. After the divine service he must bury the dead, baptize the children, bless the marriages, etc., and then start for another station where he must fulfil the same ministry the next day. It often happens that he has not a day's rest during the entire week, especially when he has several sick to visit at considerable distances and in opposite directions. While the confessor is occupied with his functions the catechists instruct the children and the negroes, and all sing hymns, recite the beads, etc.

"Three priests in this immense country, very much larger than France and Spain combined, could do but little, and this immense tract to-day forms one single diocese, named Bardstown, erected in 1808 by the reigning Pope, as we shall see later

on. To supply for their absence the priests recommend public family prayers, the catechism, and the examination of conscience every night, and the prayers of Mass, or of St. Bridget, the litanies and spiritual reading for all Sundays and Holydays. Pious persons also add the rosary, and their devotion to the Blessed Virgin urges them to render her some particular homage every day. The fear of God, the respect for the priesthood of Jesus Christ, or filial piety often prompts the good Christians to bend the knee before their fathers and mothers, their god-parents and the priests, and to ask their blessing after prayers, or even when they meet them in the streets of the towns or upon the public highways.

"English books of controversy are beginning to multiply; most of the people can read them, and one finds in every congregation some who study and are able to sustain an argument with the Protestants. By this means, as well as by their piety and their honesty, they contribute not a little to the procuring of conversions to the true faith.

"All of these good works were much more multiplied when, in 1805, Providence raised up a new missionary, Mr. Nerinckx, a Flemish priest who has not ceased to labor as an apostle, and who has established three monasteries, which are of great service in educating poor girls, Catholic and non-Catholic. The Religious, who are called 'The Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross,' remind us of the happy times of the primitive Church. Their manner of life is hard and laborious; they observe perpetual silence, and are buried under their veil. Their venerable and indefatigable founder has made two voyages to Brabant within the last few years, to obtain from his generous countrymen the help that could not be found in America.

"Some years before, Mr. Badin, encouraged by the desires of some pious persons, and of a friend who gave him one hundred acres of land for the purpose, built a monastery of logs for the same object, but through the negligence of the workmen the building was burned before it was finished.

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"The congregations in the interior of the country are composed of Germans, Irish and Americans, but on the Lakes, which separate the United States from Canada, they are formed of colonies of French. In the State of Ohio, and on the right bank of the river of that name, stands Gallipolis, the chief city of the county of Gallia, where a settlement was made in 1791 by French people, most of whom left the place, as they were made the victims of a miserable land speculation. Messrs. Bar-

rières and Badin baptized about forty children there when they were going to Kentucky in 1793. The whole village seemed to revive at the sight of two priests from their own country, and at the chant of the sacred hymns and the celebration of the divine mysteries.

"In all these regions of America there is perfect freedom of conscience and of worship. The priest need not fear being molested if he refuses the honor of Christian burial to those who have lived scandalous lives. The people recognize that this is the law of the Church, and the result is that they have more dread of dying without the last sacraments. Marriages consecrated by the benediction of our ritual are received as legitimate and valid in law; and divorce, polygamy, etc., are unknown among Catholics. We can go in procession around our cemeteries, and we erect crosses in them; we preach in town halls; and even in the Protestant meeting-houses where we have no chapels, and people of all denominations come in crowds to hear us. During the holy Mass they comport themselves in a manner becoming and respectful. Some of them even bring their children to us for baptism, and they intrust the education of their daughters to our Religious. We are also surprised to find non-Catholics sometimes taking up the defense of the dogmas of our belief.

"We enjoy also a certain consideration in civil life, for the Americans have a great liking for the French, whose politeness and lively spirit they admire and cultivate. They remember with gratitude the services they received from the martyr King. Finally, the Commonwealth of Kentucky has embalmed many French names in its institutions. We have there the county of Bourbon, with Paris as its head city; we have also a Versailles, a Louisville, etc., and in this last town we have, with the help of the Protestants, built a neat church and dedicated it to St. Louis, King of France. As they have a special esteem for men of learning, they have received the French priests with a generous hospitality, and our Bishops are revered by all the sectaries.

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"Mr. Flaget, a Sulpician who arrived in America in 1792 with Messrs. David and Badin, was named Bishop of the see of Bardstown. His modesty took the alarm, for he did not think that he possessed either the talents or the virtues necessary for so high a dignity, and he persisted in his refusal of it for two years, but he was finally forced to yield to the express command of the Pope, and submit to a yoke for which he was evidently

destined by Divine Providence. He is, without doubt, the poorest prelate in the Christian world, but he is none the less zealous and disinterested on account of his poverty. He has created so many establishments in these few years, undertaken so many journeys, endured so many hardships of body and soul, and succeeded so well in all his plans for the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, that we must absolutely attribute his success and the progress of religion to the blessing of God alone, which does not cease to accompany him. The man paints himself in his own writings, and we cannot better describe the mild, humble, and modest character of Monsigneur the Bishop of Bardstown than by inserting here extracts from various letters which he wrote to his vicar-general in Kentucky. His zeal, disinterestedness and self-abnegation are equal to his confidence in Providence:

“God is my witness that I do not desire riches, and I would rather die at once than be attacked by this malady. The less we have of this world’s goods, the less we will have of its worries. But there are some indispensable expenses, and it is upon you that I rely to procure me the means to meet them. It is essential that I count upon your friendship for me, and it is for you, my dear Mr. Badin, to provide henceforth for my subsistence. After all, you have wished it so, for without you they would never have thought of making me a bishop. . . . To reduce my expenses I shall leave at Baltimore a domestic who offered me his services, and I would leave my books if I did not think them essential to our establishment. . . . Between seven or eight of us we may possibly have one horse. I intended that for Mr. David, who is the least spry of foot. For myself and the other gentlemen, we will go on foot with pleasure if there is the least difficulty in making the journey in any other way. Such a pilgrimage would be quite to my taste, and I do not think that it would detract from my dignity. I leave everything to your prudence. I shall be happy if I have enough money to join you at Louisville, and after that the journey must be at your charge. May the will of God be done! I would a thousand times prefer to go on foot than to cause the least murmur, and you have done just right in suspending the subscription which was being taken up in my favor, because it might tend to alienate the good will of the people from me. It was quite just and reasonable, however, that the people desirous of having a bishop should, at least, furnish him the means of coming to them. There is nothing that I would not do for the sanctification of my flock; my time, my labors, my life itself,

are consecrated to them, and after giving these it still remains with me to say that *I am a useless servant, having done only that which I should have done.*'

"Providence, whom he had invoked by his zeal and resignation, supplied, one knows not how, the needs of the prelate, who arrived on June 11, 1811, with two priests and four seminarians, at St. Stephen's, the residence of Mr. Badin. There he found the faithful kneeling upon the grass singing hymns in English. The women were almost all dressed in white, and many of them were still fasting, although it was then four o'clock in the afternoon, in the hope of assisting at his Mass and receiving Holy Communion at his hands the same day.

"An altar had been prepared at the entrance to the first enclosure under four small trees, and here the Bishop put on his episcopal costume. After the sprinkling of the holy water he was conducted processionally to the chapel, while the Litany of the Blessed Virgin was sung, and the prayers and ceremonies prescribed in the Pontifical for such occasions followed and terminated the function.

"Mr. Badin had only a poor rough log house for his own residence, and, in consequence of the expense incurred in the building of the monastery that was burned, of which we have already spoken, he was able to build and prepare only two very humble cabins, sixteen feet square, for his illustrious friend and the ecclesiastics who accompanied him. One of the missionaries slept upon a bed-tick laid on the floor of the garret of the 'Episcopal Palace,' which was whitewashed with lime, and had no other furniture than a bed, six chairs, two tables, and a few shelves for a library.

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"After twenty-five years of labor in this mission the writer has returned to France to take a little rest, and to invoke, at the desire of his Bishop, the generosity of his fellow-countrymen. He intends to cross the ocean again and make the journey of over four hundred leagues by land to reach Kentucky, where his services are still required."

This brief sketch of his work, written for a special purpose by Father Badin, gives but a meager idea of his labors and his trials during those twenty-five years. His was a full life, and if we have not a record of all of it, we have, at least, sufficient knowledge of it to follow him in the most important events of

his career, and to appreciate the immensity of the work which he undertook and successfully accomplished.

Nothing but necessity could have induced Bishop Carroll to send a priest of only a few months' standing to such a mission as Kentucky was, and nothing but the will of God could have kept the priest there. When Bishop Carroll broached the idea to Father Badin it was but a tentative offer. The Bishop would have been pleased to see it accepted, the priest would have been pleased to decline it. Both joined in a novena of prayer, and both remained unchanged at the end of it. It was, however, the will of a superior and the will of a subject, and the subject saw the difference and yielded.

Father Badin set out on September 6th, with an older priest, Father Barrières, on foot, and the two reached Pittsburgh without incident, other than the fatigues of their long journey. On November 3d, they embarked at Pittsburgh on a flatboat manned by six well-armed men prepared to meet any attack from Indians. They were not molested, as the Indians were gathering their forces in the interior in anticipation of a war with General Wayne, who was preparing for an expedition against them. At Limestone, now Maysville, they left the boat and made their way on foot to Lexington, a distance of sixty-five miles. On their way they passed a very cold night in an old mill, with grain sacks for their bed and covering, and the next day the subject of their meditation was death, suggested by a human skull which they picked up on the ill-fated field of the massacre of Blue Lick.

Father Badin said his first Mass in Kentucky on the first Sunday of Advent, at the house of Dennis McCarthy, a clerk in the commercial house of Colonel Moylan, brother of the then Bishop of Cork in Ireland. Father Barrières left him there and pushed on toward Bardstown, where most of the immigrants were settled, or in the immediate vicinity. But Father Barrières was too old, and too settled in his manner of life to fall easily into the rough requirements of pioneer life, and he went away after a few months of uncongenial experience. Father Badin then removed to Washington County and made

his home in the center of his missionary district. On Pottinger's Creek he found a log chapel, built some time before by Father De Rohan, a wandering priest with doubtful jurisdiction, the first and only semblance of a Catholic church in all Kentucky. He secured a tract of land a few miles from this chapel and built on it a little cabin of two rooms, and a small log chapel, where he could say Mass, for his own convenience when at home, and for the convenience of the nearest settlers. This place was at first called "Priestland," but later he named it "St. Stephen's," from his own patron saint. The spot is now occupied by the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto, and this sketch is being written in a house of modern appointments, built on the ground once occupied by the afore-mentioned "Episcopal Palace." Within a few rods of where I sit there stands, in an excellent state of preservation, a brick house of two rooms, built about a hundred years ago by Father Badin, and occupied by him after his retirement from active work on the missions of Kentucky. It serves as a lodging place for very particular and honored guests—bishops and venerable missionaries preferred.

At this time Father Badin estimated the Catholics at about 300 families, the greater part of whom were in Nelson and Washington counties, with smaller clusters as far east as Lexington, and west into Hardin County, but the number was greatly increased and became more scattered after Wayne's victory over the Indians in 1794. Before he got much help his missions extended from Vincennes in Indiana to Knoxville in Tennessee, and from Lexington to the Mississippi River, and he managed to visit all of them.

Only a brief summary of his work can be given here, and of the conditions under which he labored. He found the Catholics suffering from long neglect, and without order or regularity of pious exercise. They had the Faith, but were otherwise almost in a state of nature. He established regular mission stations in private houses in all the groups of settlers, and sought out individual families between times. He was virtually forced to live in the saddle, and every day was marked

by "holding Church" in one or another of the settlements. Everywhere he went he strove to awaken piety, and restore a proper spirit of discipline among his flock. He appointed catechists at every station, whose duty it was to teach the elements of the Faith to the ignorant, and he insisted upon the children learning the catechism by heart. Servants and slaves were also instructed, and grown up persons were not immune from his searching examinations upon the essentials of their religion. Family prayers, night and morning, were universally inaugurated, and "Middle-day Prayers" on Sundays, at which all should attend. "My children," he would say, "no morning prayer, no breakfast; no evening prayer, no supper. Be good, and you will never be sorry for it."

He was the implacable enemy of dancing and other dissipating amusements, and sometimes, when arriving at a settlement and finding a dance in progress, he went to the house, and entering said with a sly smile to the startled throng: "My children, it is all very well, but where the children are there the father must be; and where the flock is there the shepherd must attend." Then he would make them all sit down, and he would give them a long lesson in catechism, and end all with night prayers.

Adventures he had of all kinds—getting lost in the woods, getting wet in storms and rivers, sleeping in the forests with wild beasts prowling around, and not least, refuting in public and in private the multitudinous accusations, slanders and absurdities of the preachers in regard to Catholic teaching and practice.

If Father Badin were not a tough and wiry little Frenchman he would early have worn himself out, and as it was, his death was reported several times. Yet he voluntarily continued in all these labors which brought no remuneration but the satisfaction of spirit at seeing God served and souls saved in this wilderness. For his support he asked from the people but one bushel in a hundred of their produce, and they gave him less than one in a thousand, and yet he had to provide for almost all the cash expenditure in the building of their churches.

If he had less of the apostolic spirit he might have escaped most of his privations and sacrifices, for, in 1796, when his sufferings and hardships were greatest, he received a letter from the Spanish Governor at St. Genevieve, earnestly pressing him to come there to live, and offering him an annual salary of \$500 and valuable perquisites. We are told that he threw the letter into the fire and did not even return an answer.

He kept up this work alone until 1797, when Father Fournier came to help him, and in 1799 Fathers Salmon and Thayer also came. Father Salmon was accidentally killed that same year; Father Thayer was unsuited to the work, did but little and soon went away, and Father Fournier, a good worker, met his death, in 1803, from the rupturing of a blood vessel through over exertion in lifting logs for the building of his house.

Again Father Badin was alone until 1805, when a colony of Trappists came, and four Dominicans, and one missionary priest, the Rev. Charles Nerinckx. The Trappists did little or no missionary work, and soon went elsewhere. The Dominicans established their Convent of St. Rose, and ever afterward were active in the missions, yet the care of the greater part of his vast territory still remained with Father Badin and his new colleague.

Up to this time, notwithstanding all his travels, he had succeeded in building some six or seven churches in the principal settlements. One was in Scott County, one at his home, one on Pottinger's Creek, one on Hardin's Creek, one on Cartwright's Creek, and one at Bardstown. They had no religious titles then, but became known afterward as St. Francis', St. Stephen's, Holy Cross, St. Charles', St. Ann's, and St. Joseph's. For some of these he had a little help from Fathers Salmon and Fournier, and he found the beginnings of the first church at Holy Cross. Probably he had also a few smaller structures called oratories, where churches were built at a later date. At several places he had secured ground for churches and lands for various diocesan institutions. On one of these tracts, near his own house, he began the building of a large house for the reception of the young women who were to be

the first members of a new religious order of teachers. This was destroyed by fire in 1808, and he was not destined to see the fulfilment of his desire for the Christian education of the children until four years later, when Father Nerinckx founded a Sisterhood, which has outgrown its primitive ideas and plans, and stands before the world as the great American Congregation of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross.

The desire for a bishop in Kentucky began to find expression in 1806, and naturally, Father Badin was thought of in this connection. Bishop Carroll thought of him, and the people of Kentucky thought of him, but it is not probable that he himself entertained any serious desire for the position. Bishop Carroll of Baltimore favored his appointment, but the people of Kentucky, at least a large portion of them, were opposed to it. In his dealings with the people, and especially in his efforts to repress evil, he was rather severe, and was not what might be termed a popular priest. No doubt some severity was necessary, and discipline was more severe then than now, but human nature was the same, and resented repression. Pretexts were seized upon by some of the dissatisfied, and a storm was raised against Father Badin in certain quarters, ostensibly on account of his severity, arbitrariness and imperiousness. He had urged measures of reform and conduct that were not pleasing to those needing them, and hence the storm. He advised with his friends in Baltimore and received encouragement. The venerable Father Nagot of the seminary wrote to him:

"Constans esto! Thanks to God that we have excellent and good teachers here, but it is a matter of surprise to us that a country reclaimed from the savages only about twelve years ago should so far exceed the seat of the government of the United States in point of piety and Christian discipline, that we cannot but attribute a great part of the merit of the miracle to your zeal and fervor."

Bishop Neale said to him: "You have entered the lists to promote the grand work, never yield till you have accomplished it," and Bishop Carroll wrote: "I am sure that many abuses will be prevented if you succeed in your commendable efforts,

and I encourage you to perseverance." Father Nerinckx undertook to defend him, and was made to share his troubles. In a letter of Father Nerinckx to Bishop Carroll, in which the difficulties are stated, the writer ends: "And all this because they do not want him to be Bishop of Kentucky! Indeed they could fare worse, although that reverend gentleman has repeatedly said in my presence that he would refuse the appointment if it were tendered to him."

Bishop Carroll wanted Father Badin, and would probably have had him appointed if Father Badin himself had not gone to Baltimore in 1807 and recommended Father Flaget, with whom he had come to America. Father Badin's name was put on the list, but the special recommendations were for Father Flaget. We have seen where this prelate told Father Badin: "Without you, they would never have thought of making me a bishop."

Father Nerinckx summed up his characteristics in answer to a request of Bishop Carroll, when the matter was under consideration, as follows:

"It is but right, if it can be done, that a man be chosen who is acquainted with the country and the customs of the people, like the one whose selection your Lordship has submitted to my opinion. His knowledge, in both human and divine sciences, seems to me to be above the ordinary, and it would without a doubt be much greater and deeper if time and occupations allowed him to improve it. He has good reasoning powers, fair judgment and prudence. I believe him sound in doctrine, and ready to listen to the decision of a superior. His zeal is more than manifest. It has, perhaps, a little too much of the French fervor, is of more than ordinary rigidity, and, if tempered with a little more of the honey of kindness, would be more palatable to his people, and more successful in curing inveterate sinners and loathsome wounds. This is the reason he is not so universally liked, although it is also to be acknowledged that some of the less pious people are difficult to deal with, indocile, ungrateful, lax and without manners, quarrelsome and indifferent to religion, the very name of which they cause to be blasphemed. He handles temporal affairs smartly enough; he loves piety, from the exercise of which he is perhaps a little prevented because of his love for society, which he has, however, rarely frequented since

my arrival. If, however, he does not refuse invitations, it is because of the good he hopes from them. He is thirty-nine years of age, of small stature, well built, of pleasant disposition, grey, strong and healthy, the founder of the Church in Kentucky, and, in my opinion, well qualified for the Episcopal dignity."

After the installation of Bishop Flaget at St. Stephen's Father Badin spent much of his time in Louisville, where he was building a brick church, and he had it ready for services on Christmas Day of that year. He dedicated it to St. Louis, King of France. This was his second brick church; the first he built at Danville in 1807. This first brick church, the first brick Catholic church in Kentucky, was afterward sold for the debts of the man who gave the ground upon which it was built. A delay in giving the proper title was fatal, and when creditors seized his holdings the church went with them. It still stands, somewhat remodeled, and has been used all these years as a dwelling. In 1812, Father Badin built St. Peter's in Lexington, also a brick church, and from there he accompanied Bishop Flaget to Baltimore.

This long trip on horseback was not in the nature of a pleasure trip for either of them. Archbishop Carroll had announced a Provincial Council for 1812, and Bishop Flaget wished to attend it. For some reason, probably the difficulty of communicating with Rome, the Council was not held, but Bishop Flaget did not know of its postponement until his arrival in Maryland. There was other business to be done, however, and business in which Father Badin was interested. Some differences had arisen between Father Badin and the Bishop which, for a time, threatened serious consequences.

During the previous years of his labors Father Badin had secured various properties for the Church, notably the land at St. Stephen's and the Howard tract near Bardstown, upon which the Seminary of St. Thomas was afterward established. These properties Father Badin held, some in his own name, and some in conjunction with others, but all were supposed to be for the benefit of the local churches and clergy, or institu-

tions of a religious character. Bishop Flaget asked that the titles to all such property be passed to him, as Father Badin held it only as Vicar General to Bishop Carroll for a diocese that now had its own bishop and legal head. To this Father Badin demurred, as some of this property had been given under conditions which he considered left him in the position of trustee in regard to their fulfilment. For others he had assumed pecuniary responsibilities, and he wished to fulfil his obligations, or impose conditions satisfactory to himself that these conditions would be fulfilled.

Bishop Flaget thought the conditions required by Father Badin degrading to him, as his diary shows, and seemingly declined to accept any conditions. Letters were exchanged, and a number of conferences held which were unsatisfactory, some of them at St. Stephen's, some at St. Thomas' and some at St. Rose'. At St. Thomas' Mr. Twyman, a friend of both of them, brought about a partial understanding and settlement, in which Bishop Flaget acknowledged receiving a part of the properties, and hoped for a final arrangement. This does not seem to have been arrived at, even at Baltimore, for three years later Bishop Flaget referred the matter to Rome in a letter which Father Nerinckx carried on the occasion of his first voyage to Europe in 1815. Each was absolutely certain that he was acting within his rights, and neither could see the justice of the other's opinion. Bishop Flaget could insist and threaten suspension to Father Badin, and Father Badin could brave these threats and insist upon his conditions. It was a case where two good men differed, and each in good faith believed himself in the right. It shows the human element in the Church, and I would not dare say that the clash in their opinions detracted from the personal worth of either of these venerable servants of God. It was one of those unfortunate misunderstandings which will sometimes occur between the best-intentioned friends and cause involuntary injustice.

Bishop Flaget calls Father Badin's conduct unjust: "I said that his *conduct* toward me was unjust, and I do not retract it, because his conduct might be unjust without his being so

himself, although it is not without an effort that I separate the one from the other. God knows that I hold a hundred times more strongly to the friendship of Mr. Badin than to all the lands."

Again: "He complains that I have treated him harshly, and I acknowledge that in two or three circumstances his conduct was so singular that I expressed myself forcibly, perhaps harshly, but he himself knows well that these were the expressions of the moment, and that my heart has been open to him, and widely open, every time it seemed to me that he wished to return." Bishop Flaget also notes that on some of these occasions Father Badin had not received letters in which the Bishop had made certain propositions to him, and the Bishop was not aware of their non-reception.

Father Badin, some years later, in 1820, refers to this matter in a letter to Father Chabrat, quoted by Webb, and says:

"I have examined myself over and over again; I have advised with the most prudent and holy clergymen, to whom I have candidly submitted both my conduct respecting the Church property, and the necessary documents relating to the same. Their undoubted opinion is, that I was under no obligation to dispossess myself, but to have done so would have been more perfect, provided I first secured my debts. In justice to myself I will say, that I was willing from the beginning to do this if it could be done properly. I have proved this, since I have freely dispossessed myself, not only of the lands, but of my own improvements, rents, etc. My first letters to our venerable Bishop should have at once put an end to all controversy. One month before his death Mr. Thomas Howard made me his sole heir, and it was only at my request that two others were associated with me, in such a manner that if I were the survivor I necessarily became the sole and rightful possessor. At his death I gave my bond and obligation for a pretty large sum of money to secure that property for the Church, and I assumed other obligations of interest, etc. . . . It has been questioned by the late Archbishop Carroll, and many others both in France and America, whether I could, consistently with the will, validly dispossess myself. . . . I would rather, with the grace of God, give to the Church than take from it, and however ill-treated I may have been, I have always had the will to do more and

more for the Church of Kentucky, of which I have been the founder, the father, and the sole pastor for many years, amidst labors, afflictions, and the temptations which must necessarily assail a lonely stranger and inexperienced priest in a new and wild country, where everything was to be built up almost without means. But if any good has been done, the praise is to God and the confusion is to me."

And in a letter to Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, written from London, May 18, 1825, on file in the American Archives of Notre Dame, Father Badin again refers to his action: "The best lawyers in England (I do say this confidentially) are of the opinion that my transfer to Bishop Flaget of the Seminary land is null and invalid. *Ergo*, I was to be excommunicated *pour une chimère*. I have sent to the Bishop the collected opinion of four lawyers."

This is enough to show the honesty of purpose on both sides, and each must have conceded this in the other, for, painful as must have been all these differences, they did not cause a break in the essential relations between Father Badin and the Bishop. Of the final arrangements we are in ignorance, but none of the property was ever used by Father Badin for any private purpose, and it is probable that his obligations were eventually fulfilled.

On this trip to Baltimore they traveled together, doing missionary work on the way, going into Ohio as far as Chillicothe, Lancaster and Somerset, where they were the first priests to visit the good families of Fincks, Dittoes, and others there, and Bishop Flaget tells us that Father Badin discovered the Catholics in the villages by "proclaiming to the right and left that he was a Catholic priest." At Baltimore Father Badin spent a part of the winter collecting funds for Bishop Flaget, when, as Bishop Spalding tells us, that prelate was discouraged by his own lack of success.

After their return to Kentucky, in 1813, Father Badin resumed his work, although the details of his labors for the next five years are not very full. He held the pastorate of St. Louis' church in Louisville until 1817, but he did work in other places

also. In conjunction with the Dominicans he still attended Lexington, and lent his aid elsewhere. In 1817 he felt the effects of his long years of missionary life weighing heavily upon him, and he resigned his charge in Louisville to seek rest and change. The next two years saw him at St. Stephen's and Holy Cross, trying to regain his old vigor, yet looking after his interests and assisting in mission work. He could not remain idle, although freed from the responsibilities of former years. In 1819 he went to Europe, where he spent the next eight years.

There are various surmises why Father Badin left Kentucky and went to France. No doubt he needed rest, and it was natural that he should desire to revisit the land of his birth, now that the storm of revolution had passed away, and renew acquaintance with the friends of his youth. Many of them were there yet, and his own family counted some members still in the land of the living. But he was not resting and visiting during all these years, nor could he, for his life had been too active to permit him to retire from work. He exercised the ministry there, and he traveled much, and he attempted a project that few suspected then or since—he made a trial of his vocation to the regular clergy as a member of the Order of Dominicans.

Some thought that the old trouble with Bishop Flaget had something to do with it, and it may be true, for he refers to it in 1820: "I had flattered myself with the idea of spending all my life with the good Bishop of Bardstown, whom I loved more than any other person, but such violence was made to my feelings——" He did not finish the sentence. (Webb.) Yet he writes in the same letter to Father Chabrat: "I wish to communicate to you a plan which has presented itself to my mind for the relief of Bishop Flaget, whose zeal in the vineyard I planted merits well my homage, and which I can still assist, however distant I may be from Kentucky."

The old troubles were probably settled before this, and if the memory of them remained it did not make him indifferent to Kentucky and Bishop Flaget. His disposition was such that he

could not confine himself to a limited field of work, and Kentucky was losing its old character as a purely missionary country. His later life shows that he wanted the greatest limits of freedom.

Webb suggests other reasons: "His journey had for its nominal objects, first, needed bodily rest and recuperation; and secondly, attention to certain matters connected with his paternal inheritance. That his action was influenced, in some degree at least, by a consideration that was only suspected at the time, and that only by a few of his associates of the clergy of Kentucky, is now indisputable. He had become ambitious of episcopal distinction, and knowing that Bishop Flaget had appealed to the Holy See for an assistant, he thought to secure the appointment for himself through his personal influence with leading clergymen in France." Webb also notes a report of a conversation of Father Badin not long before his death, in which he is said to refer to his desires in this direction, and close in his own humorous way: "It is a very good thing that I did not succeed. Had I done so, I would have plagued myself, plagued my clergy, and plagued my people. I thought I was wise at the time, but the good Lord was wiser than Father Badin."

All this is interesting, but not conclusive in the face of other facts. At best there is but a suspicion, and a humorous story. Father Badin may have looked for the miter as first Bishop of Bardstown, for he was the logical candidate in the first instance, and it might be forced upon him against his objections. He then faced a delicate situation, and may have thought of reconciling himself to the inevitable, but the coadjutorship of the Bishop of Bardstown was settled upon Father David before Father Badin went to France. There was talk at a later date of making Father Badin a bishop, and he protested against it. One of his letters to Bishop Fenwick (Am. Cath. Archives), dated Dec. 9, 1823, has this passage: "I thank you for your friendship toward me, but indeed (allow me to unfold my real sentiments) you have too good an opinion of my *chétive personne*, and you, your Reverence, would have done me and the intended diocese a great favor by putting me out of sight. I

am convinced that I am neither *dignus nec capax* to bear the weight of the miter, and I beg you, as I have already done it in my former letter, to use your best exertions that I may not be loaded with its honor—*onus*." His last and most effective protest was made later, and we shall come to that in place.

He arrived at Havre in May, and went to Paris, where he made a retreat at the Sulpician Solitude at Issy under his old confessor of former days.

His impressions of France upon arriving were not pleasing,—the state of religion was not encouraging, many people worked on Sundays, and the churches were not filled as they used to be thirty years before. People did not kneel when the procession of the Blessed Sacrament passed, many officials of the administration and of the legislative bodies had not a particle of faith, and there was too much license shown in sculpture, in picture and in the press. But the ancient doctrine was taught in the seminary, and dancing and mixed marriages were viewed as they ought to be. He found that there were not priests enough, many of them were old, some were mercenary and without the spirit of their state, and he feared that in a few years only a spark of religion would remain. In such a state of affairs he felt like doing something, and when the Bishop of Orléans asked his help he accepted two parishes of about 700 souls each, where, he said, he would have more leisure than he had in America "to attend to my own sanctification, to review my past life before Almighty God, and to prepare for eternity."

He did not give up the idea of returning to Kentucky, and his acceptance of work in France was but temporary. Before long we find him in Paris, London, Douay, Flanders and Rome. In all these places he lost no opportunity of helping materially the Diocese of Bardstown. In Flanders he was obliged to go *incognito*, as he was suspected of coming to spirit away some of the young men of the nation. "If caught," says he, "I would soon be in prison, and probably sent to New Holland. Let us pray for the good Belgians." Thus, in a letter to Father Chabrat, and he adds: "You show your readiness to undertake a voyage

to Europe in order to collect. I would advise you to do so if you could show a gold cross on your breast, not otherwise. If you wish to be benefited by Flemish generosity, let me advise you to diverge in nothing from the spirit of your venerable predecessor and the founder of your Society."

If there was any break between Father Badin and the Dominicans in Kentucky, it was not of a serious nature, for the most intimate friendship existed now between him and Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, who was once his co-laborer on the missions of Kentucky. This friendship may have had something to do with the prolonging of his stay in Europe, and especially of his stay in Rome. On April 7, 1825, we find him writing to Bishop Fenwick from Chelsea, England, and among other things he says: "I have conceived myself during a retreat of thirty days at Stonyhurst a desire of entering a novitiate O.S.D. at Rome—*Fiat voluntas Dei, non mea*, and of returning to your diocese if the Superiors are agreed. For you know of my objections to Kentucky, and my property there shall never be a motive for returning." The idea was not a mere transitory notion, and Bishop Fenwick saw great things in it for the future. Two letters of Father Badin in the American Catholic Archives at Notre Dame give this episode in his life. From one of April 27, 1827, we extract: "Alla Minerva, Rome. You see that I am now in a place well known to you and to the Rev. Mr. Hill. Mr. R     will easily find me at Rome, but perhaps will not recognize me under a new habit. When, i.e., the first time that I was favored with an audience of the Vicar-general, O.S.D., he challenged me to become a Dominican before returning to the United States. I answered him that I had come to Rome with that intention, and that I had made you privy to it twelve months ago. He offered to give me the habit immediately, on the next day. I replied that I would see him again in eight or ten days. Besides, I had engaged to preach every Sunday in Lent in St. Luigi di Francesi, and I could not change my dress before Easter. Mons. Roux was then to return to Paris, and we parted on the 20th instant. The next day I entered the Minerva, and will take the habit on St. Pius' festival, being the twenty-second

anniversary day of our first interview in Scott County, as you may remember."

Why he did not persevere and become a Dominican he tells Bishop Fenwick in a letter dated on shipboard, June 20, 1828, and at New York, the day of his arrival, July 23, 1828, "I shall not expatiate on some other circumstances of my situation. Six months after my residence at the Minerva I received your congratulatory letter expressing your wish that I should become both Provincial, O.S.D., in the United States and your coadjutor.

"Being, and having constantly been averse from such high offices, I wrote immediately to the Vicar-general of the Order, and to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda that I would in consequence withdraw from the novitiate, and actually did so. I must say that the good Fathers did not relish at all my continuing to celebrate Mass according to the Roman rites, which I had practiced for thirty-four years together, and which it was morally impossible for me to change.

"We left Havre on the 8th inst., being the eighth anniversary of my arrival at that port."

These facts ought to make us hesitate in accepting rumors about Father Badin's episcopal ambitions, or of the lack of friendship between him and the Dominicans. He even expressed the desire of laboring under Bishop Fenwick during life and of lying beside him after death. The fulfilment of both of these desires was granted to him.

Upon his return to America Father Badin went to Detroit to visit his brother, the Rev. Vincent Badin, and his old friend, Father Richard, whom he found "overwhelmed with labors, fatigues, cares, debts, laments and calumnies." To help his old friend along he went to the mission of Monroe, on the River Raisin, near the shore of Lake Erie. Early in 1830 he turned over that mission to the Rev. S. B. Smith, and went to pay a visit to Kentucky. This Smith was an American convert whom Father Badin met in France, and whom he sent to Kentucky, where he entered the seminary and was ordained by Bishop Flaget. He spent a short time on the Kentucky missions, but at

Monroe, in 1833, he lapsed from grace, and, as usual, wrote a book against the Church.

When Father Badin reached Louisville he sang High Mass on Sunday, May 30th, in the little church he had built nineteen years before, and it was remarked that his voice was as strong and clear as ever. Bishop England of Charleston preached, and "referred feelingly to the circumstance that the celebrant of the Mass was one to whom special reverence and gratitude were due on account of the invaluable services he had rendered to the Catholic people of Kentucky." On the following Sunday, June 6th, he was present in Bardstown at the consecration of Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, and then spent some time visiting the familiar scenes of his early labors in Kentucky. He did not stay long in Kentucky, but went to Cincinnati to visit Bishop Fenwick, and while there he found a work awaiting him that filled the next few years of his life, and sent him into the wilds as an Indian missionary.

In July, 1830, the Very Rev. Frederick Rézé, Vicar-general of Bishop Fenwick, made a visit to the Indians along the shores of Lake Michigan, and was induced by what he saw and heard to try to renew the work of the Jesuit missionaries of former times. The Chevaliers De La Salle and Tonti, the Jesuit Marquette, and the Franciscan Recollect Hennepin passed through the lands of the Pottawattamies along the southern shores of Lake Michigan, but Father Claude Allouez, S.J., in 1680, was the first to make a serious attempt to Christianize these Indians. Fort St. Joseph, on the right bank of the St. Joseph River, about eight miles below the present city of South Bend, was the center of missionary activity for the Jesuits until 1761, when the English took possession of all the French stations and sent the missionaries as prisoners to Canada. A large granite boulder now marks the site of old Fort St. Joseph, and bears the inscription: "Fort St. Joseph, 1697-1781." At the latter date the English probably abandoned it. The writer visited the spot in June, 1915, and recalled the fact that when he was a boy and familiar with the locality more than fifty years ago, there was a cross standing where the stone now is, and an untraceable tradition

said that a missionary priest among the Indians was buried at its foot. This may or may not have been a fact. Anyway, it is true that Father Allouez lies buried somewhere in that region.

After the departure of the French missionaries the Indians were without religious care of any kind until 1822. In that year the Pottawattamies entered into a treaty with the United States Government, represented by Governor Cass of Michigan, and in this treaty they expressed their desire for a "Blackgown" (Catholic priest) to teach religion to them and their children and they offered to set aside 2,000 acres of land for a mission station. The mission was established at Niles in Michigan Territory, about two miles below the site of old Fort St. Joseph, on the same stream. Several buildings were put up, and when all was ready Governor Cass told the Indians that he could not get a Catholic priest, but he would send them a minister, who would do just as well. It was the old story, and one still told,—the Government making a treaty with the Indians, and interpreting it without taking the wishes of the Indians into consideration in the manner of its fulfilment.

A Baptist minister, Rev. Mr. Carey, was sent, and the mission became known as the Carey Mission. The Rev. Mr. Carey was soon succeeded by a Rev. Mr. McCoy from Fort Wayne. McCoy added some Baptist funds to the government appropriation in improving the mission, but he thrived exceedingly well personally, and left the mission in 1830 for richer pastures still, going further west and trying to induce the Indians to follow him. The mission had never been much of a success in a religious way, for the Indians remembered their old traditions of the Jesuits, and remained in paganism rather than accept the Christianity of the mission.

Things were thus in July, 1830, when the Pottawattamie chief, Pokagon, went to Detroit to ask a priest from Father Richard. He found Father Rézé there, and by him was accompanied back to his tribe. A writer in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, under date of November 14, 1830, tells us:

"No sooner was it known that a Blackgown had arrived among them than they flocked together in crowds, and encamped

around the cabin in which the missionary had taken up his abode. There they remained as long as his time would permit him to continue at the station. Great numbers expressed their desire to receive baptism without any further delay, manifesting, at least, their readiness to profess the religion which former Catholic missionaries had delivered to their fathers. But he could baptize only such as he had time to instruct, and of whose sincerity he had satisfactory evidence from their former regular mode of living. At the close of this religious rite, the principal chiefs convened in council to deliberate on the propriety of selecting an eligible site for the erection of a Catholic chapel. After some discussion on the subject, an elderly chief arose, and addressing his red brethren in authority said: 'Why do we lose time in needless debate? Is not the missionary station ours, and is not that the most suitable place for the Blackgown to take up his residence? Buildings are already erected, which will supersede the necessity and expense of putting up others. Why should we withhold the present establishment from the man to whom we are all agreed to give our confidence, and whom we consider the minister of the Great Spirit, sent to instruct ourselves and our children in the principles of religion?' All immediately acceded to the propriety of the proposal, when they communicated their determination to the Rev. Gentleman, who, in turn, requested to be informed of the time in which they would be prepared to receive a priest, who would take charge of the station. One month, was the reply, as it was thought necessary to afford that space of time for the Protestant missionaries to prepare for their departure.

"The following day the chiefs escorted Mr. Rézé to the missionary station, and intimated to the possessors their will, that they should hold themselves in readiness to deliver up the establishment in one month's time to the Blackgown who had accompanied them. They did this in respectful and becoming terms, and the missionaries expressed their readiness to comply.

"At the expiration of the term agreed upon, the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, accompanied by a religious lady from Detroit, who is well acquainted with the Indian language, was received in the most friendly manner by the Indians, and welcomed to St. Joseph's. The last accounts from the station are highly gratifying. The Reverend Missionary is now preparing seventy for the sacrament of baptism. Miss Campau, the lady who acts as interpreter, is justly entitled to the praise of piety, zeal, and heroic courage in the cause to which she has devoted herself for the good of religion."

We might suppose that Father Badin's way was clear after this, but such was not the case. The *United States Catholic Miscellany* tells us again:

"In the beginning of September commissioners arrived at the station to value the improvements made upon the place, and it appears they assessed them at the sum of \$4,000 or \$5,000, to be paid to McCoy. This, I am told, is considerably more than the value of the land and the buildings together, but there might be two reasons for the liberal valuation, when it is considered who was to receive, and who it was expected would pay;—and a third cause would probably suggest itself to those who entertain the suspicion—that it is equally desirable to drive the Pottawattamies from Michigan, as to send the Cherokees from Georgia or the Creeks from Alabama.

"On the 8th of that month the United States agent wrote a letter to the landlord of poor old Mr. Badin, threatening more than his high displeasure against any man who would advise the Indians to attempt taking possession of the Carey Mission. The priest, suspecting the notice was for himself, wrote to the agent; that married preachers, who had to provide for children and grandchildren, might be naturally suspected of an anxiety to possess themselves of lands and money, but that the salvation of souls was the only object of the Catholic priesthood. He also adverted to the several Catholic missionaries who, during 200 years, had labored hard and suffered much amongst the red and white men of Michigan, and yet, after all these labors, they had not this day one good plantation in the whole Territory for their missionaries. The agent took possession of the missionary station by the orders of the Governor, and wrote a polite note to the priest, against whom he now probably entertained no suspicions of an intention to place himself at the head of the Pottawattamies for the purpose of laying siege to the Carey Mission.

"Father Badin has purchased a piece of land sufficient for his purposes, and thus leaves the intrigues of politicians a separate question from the humble but more useful labors of his obscure mission. He is, I can assure you, much pleased with the docility of his redskins, and their ardor for instructions. They listen cheerfully to the lessons which he gives them through the interpreter, nor do they make any difficulty in using this man also for the medium of their confession, of which they appear to appreciate the benefits, and to which they are greatly attached. He has baptized upward of fifty children and two adults. These last also received from him the Sacrament of Extreme

Uction in a very dangerous state of illness, from which, however, they speedily recovered. He has upward of fifty catechumens on his list, who will in due time be admitted into the Church through the Sacrament of Baptism. On the 21st of November, the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, he opened a little school, being assisted in the ceremony of the day by ten Ottawas from *Arbre-Croche*, who are good choristers, and who quitted their hunting-grounds for the purpose of going to confession and communion,—they having been upward of two months absent from their parish church. Three of them had prayer-books printed in their own language.

"During the hunting season the old gentleman visited Fort Wayne, at and near which he found about 100 Canadian Catholics. Having purchased a four-acre lot for the purpose of a church, they are now building one.

"In October he visited Chicago, on the S.W. shore of Lake Michigan, where he found nearly 100 Canadians, and a tribe of sober, peaceable and religious Indians, Kickapoos, who requested him to visit their village, distant about 100 miles. Father Badin resides on the south bend of the River St. Joseph, about equally distant from Fort Wayne and Chicago. There are perhaps upward of eighty Canadians also at this station."

This account was probably given by Father Badin himself, but in 1831 Bishop Fenwick visited the mission, and his account is about the same.

"Here he found an interesting free school conducted by this apostolic and venerable missionary, who at that time was preparing one hundred catechumens for the sacrament of baptism. He lives with Pokagon, the chief of the Pottawattamies, in a cabin built by the Indians. This rude structure serves also for a chapel in which the Catholics attend for the divine service and to receive instructions. As soon as the Bishop arrived, the Chief and his family very kindly requested him to partake of his hospitality, which was cordially accepted, and the party, consisting of the Chief, his squaw, the Rev. Mr. Badin and the Bishop, sat down to eat with more good will than good fare. It had the merit at least of being presented with sincere and unaffected kindness.

"Mr. Badin has also the care of a small congregation of Catholics who have a chapel on the opposite side of the river, and occasionally he visits the Catholics at Chicago, Fort Wayne, and a few other settlements in that district."

Father Badin's home with Chief Pokagon was on the left bank of the St. Joseph River, in Michigan, just across the line from Indiana. On the right bank, facing Pokagon's village, a Frenchman named Leclaire had settled as early as 1760. He was a blacksmith and traded with the Indians. In 1775 Joseph Bertrand established a post by the side of Leclaire. A village grew up and became known as Bertrand. Here is where Father Badin's chapel and congregation were. At this same place the Fathers of the Holy Cross of Notre Dame built a church and established the first novitiate of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. When Niles received a permanent pastor Bertrand became one of its mission stations, and Mass was said there once a month for many years. Only in 1914 its old church, now become almost a ruin and a rendezvous for tramps, was torn down. Until a few years ago, the only burying place for the Catholics of Niles and vicinity was at Bertrand, and many of the descendants of the old families are laid away there yet. When the writer visited it in 1915, he found the names of most of those he once knew there on its tombstones. A recent renewal of life in Bertrand may cause it to become a mission again in the near future.

In February, 1832, in spite of the snow and cold weather, Father Badin set out for Cincinnati to procure personal and material help for his mission. He was at least partially successful, and after his return he wrote to Bishop Fenwick the following letter:

"Near SOUTH BEND, ST. JOSEPH'S COUNTY, IND.

"20th June, 1832.

"RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR:

"Since my arrival at the Indian village, on the 1st inst., I have been anxious to write, but we have found ourselves unsettled on account of our little rural and domestic affairs, of the Indian war, and the murder of Na-nan-koy, one of my catechumens, by the principal chief, Topinabee, when intoxicated. I will begin by giving you a brief relation of our long, tedious journey, though I endeavored to use all convenient diligence. We arrived at St. Mary's (Nicolas with me) on the 4th of May. On the first and second Sundays of the same month I preached

there in English at the courthouse, having waited ten days for a water conveyance to Fort Wayne. At last, having bought a horse, etc., I took the resolution of going to that place without my company (although the roads were detestable), where I arrived on the 16th, and preached two English sermons, also in the Freemasons' hall. Rev. Mr. Boheme and Nicolas arrived thither by a merchant boat, with our baggage and some provisions from Piqua on the 25th. The alarm excited by Indian hostilities prompted my friends to make me delay the prosecution of my journey to St. Joseph. But I resolved to set out on the 29th, and we arrived safe at Bertrand's on the 30th at 11 o'clock P.M., after being bewildered about two hours within eight miles of the farm. As I approached the place I sang French *cantiques* well known to the family, with the view of not surprising or terrifying them. But the means taken to prevent an alarm caused a contrary effect, in the women at least, whose minds had been much agitated on that very day by the assemblage at Niles, and departure of 200 militia for Chicago, near which some hostilities and murders by the Indians had taken place.

"On Whitsunday I received a note from Col. Stewart, the sub-agent, requesting my presence at Carey Mission to attend the Indian council. I had already visited him the previous week. He made a short speech, and Pokagon made one, long, moral and animated, to which all the Indians gave their assent. The brother of Na-nan-koy and his other friends were sullen, and had their long naked knives with them. At last they postponed their vengeance, which was expected by Topinabee lying flat on his face for several hours. It is probable that Mlle. Campau's and my presence had some influence, although I said nothing, being advised to remain silent. I yielded, though I felt anxious to give a pacific talk. Topinabee, who had resisted almost two years, came at last to his confession last Sunday, with a band of his party. Almighty God may draw good out of evil. But we have not yet seen the end of that unhappy affair, as the brother of Na-nan-koy agreed only to refer the decision to his uncle, who is the chief warrior of a distant tribe.

"Col. Stewart has invited me to come and preach at Carey Mission, which has been evacuated by the Baptist preachers this spring. I intend to establish a station there, because it is a central point, where many of the wild Indians could have access to me when they would not take the trouble of coming to our village, which is near the Indiana line. The treaty of Chicago specifies that the blacksmith and instructor of the Indians will

live on the land convenient to the Indians, and the section of land opposite to Niles has been fixed for that purpose. A very small portion of the plantation (which is going to ruin with the orchard and fences) is cultivated by the sub-agent. The Indians, and namely Pokagon, have received *à principio* the assurance from Gov. Cass that the premises would be surrendered to them when Mr. McCoy (the preacher) would leave the place, which they wanted, and perhaps would have taken forcible possession of, if they had not been advised to the contrary by me and my good interpreter. They will soon feel again that grievance, when they will be about to build a chapel, knowing and reflecting that their own land contains a section (where Carey Mission once existed) convenient to them, on which are cabins sufficient for their religious purposes. I believe that all the chiefs of this concern or reserve have submitted themselves to our religion, and I am happy to tell you that their piety, morality and zeal are truly on the increase. There are many citizens of other denominations who have been candid enough to make this acknowledgment.

"Probably you wish to know what are their dispositions on the present emergency. I shall barely relate what I found them to be on my return from Cincinnati, as I have been informed by my respectable and pious interpreter. They are sincerely desirous of peace with all men,—with the citizens and government of the United States, as well as with the Indians. They know that their moral and religious dispositions, the Christian education of their children, their agricultural pursuits, in which they have lately been very much spurred, in fine, their real happiness are all incompatible with a state of warfare.

"They have repeatedly told me that Almighty God has imposed upon mankind to eat their bread by the sweat of their brow, that we must do penance for our sins, and that laboring is a sort of penance very agreeable to God, who said, he who will not labor shall not eat. The men thought that labor was degrading, and fit for women only. I have made them ashamed of such a plea, by observing that Almighty God has given more strength to man in order to work more than woman. And I myself, weak and old as I am, take the hoe for a while to undo their false pride in laziness and losing their time.

"We made Pokagon sow wheat and reap last year for the first time in his life. The present harvest will be still better. He and his neighbors have made rails and considerably enlarged their cornfield this spring. But their plows and other agricultural implements are not sufficient for the whole village. I

am confident that the Government of the United States is not unwilling to supply them better, since there are stipulations in the various treaties for those purposes. The Indians are not men of business, and are often trifled with by the whites, etc.

"It is past midnight, and I must adjourn to——

"21st June,—I have now to transmit to you a document which, thanks to God will convey pleasant intelligence. I will only add that it will devolve on you probably to attend to the completion of the object, after I will have the land surveyed, etc. But this can not be done during the war. *Sed ita non est de Carey missione:*

"DEP'T OF WAR, OFFICE OF IND. AFFAIRS,
Jan. 22d, 1832.

"To the Hon. Elias K. Kane,

"Senator of Illinois.

"SIR: In reply to your communication inclosing the petition of certain chiefs of the Chippeways, Ottawas and Pottawattamies, to make a survey and conveyance of four sections of their land, for the establishment of a school to educate and civilize their tribes, I am instructed to state that the object appearing to be meritorious, their proposition is granted, and that when the deed is prepared the President will endorse his approval thereon. I have the honor to be with much respect, etc.,

"ELBERT HERRING."

"Father Boheme and Nicolas have made and are cultivating a garden of two acres without neglecting their spiritual duties and studies. They are well pleased with the Indians, and enjoy their health. Mlle. Liquette offers you her respects and thanks, and asks your blessing. The expenses of the journey, and the procuring of provisions and transportation have exhausted more than half of the funds you placed in my hands.

"We have taken with us a girl of about nine years of age to help Miss Liquette. She is the daughter of a Frenchman and a squaw. Our object is also, and first, to give her a good Christian education. But I feel more sensibly every day the necessity of procuring three Religious Sisters, to have a numerous and well-conducted school. The means should also be procured adequate to the object. Although we are only five in family I must feed more, as the crops of last year were short, and spoiled by the summer rain and the premature frosts of autumn. If we had the houses and fields of the once Carey Mission our situation would then produce better success every way. May

God's will and justice be done to all men, *ergo* to the Indians.

"Totus tuus in visceribus Christi. Confratres osculo osculo sancto.

"STEPH. T. BADIN."

About this time the Rev. Louis De Seille came to devote himself to the good of the Indians, and his help, no doubt, gave Father Badin more opportunity to visit many of the settlements then being made by the whites within a hundred miles or so of his mission. He made several visits to the laborers along the Wabash and Erie canal, and made the settlers gather material for churches. At Fort Wayne, where he had procured ground, he caused the erection of a church, 30x60 feet, as Bishop Bruté noted upon his first visit to the place in 1835. He also visited Logansport, and many places that became flourishing towns in this part of Indiana, and he went as far west as Chicago. Thus, two great episcopal cities in the North can claim Kentucky's pioneer priest as theirs also.

Bishop Fenwick died shortly after he received this communication from Father Badin, and it is not known how far he was able to help him in his plans, but Father Badin procured Sisters and opened his school. Where he got the Sisters is not clear.

In the same journal Bishop Bruté speaks of his first visit:

"From Chicago we went around the end of Lake Michigan to the River St. Joseph, and the mission of the Rev. De Seille at the Indian village of Pokagon, situated just outside of our diocese, and in that of Detroit. This mission was established many years ago by the venerable Father Badin. Father De Seille has lived three or four years at Pokagon. On Thursday evening we arrived at South Bend, a little town beautifully situated on the high banks of the St. Joseph River. It is growing rapidly, owing to its many advantages. Crossing the river, we visited St. Mary of the Lake, the mission house of the excellent Father Badin, who had lately moved to Cincinnati. He had a school there kept by two Sisters, who have also gone away, leaving the place vacant. The 625 acres of land attached to it, and the small lake named St. Mary's, make it a most desirable spot, and one soon, I hope, to be occupied by some prosperous institution. Rev. Badin has transferred it to the Bishop on the condition of

his assuming the debts, a trifling consideration compared with the importance of the place."

If Bishop Flaget had adopted a broad policy like this, instead of standing strictly on his canonical rights, there would have been no trouble between him and Father Badin.

During these years Father Badin signed himself, Vicar-general of Bardstown and Cincinnati, and also of Vincennes after Indiana was erected into a diocese. Later he was Vicar-general of Chicago, under Bishop Quarter, and as he had been Vicar-general of Baltimore under Bishop Carroll, he had the unusual distinction of being vicar-general in five dioceses.

What seems to be his last letter from this mission was written from Huntington, Indiana, to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, on September 22, 1834. It is in the American Catholic Archives of Notre Dame, and begins:

"The date of this letter reminds me that this day 42 years ago, the first Bishop of Baltimore ordained the first subdeacon of his diocese, and gave the tonsure and minor orders to 3 or 4 *ordinandi*. Time has brought many changes and improvements, or rather the Divine Shepherd has given an incalculable increase to the sheep and lambs. . . . My intention, when I left home 12 days ago, was to answer the honor of your invitation. But first, we have many sick people along the canal lines. Second, when I am in Logansport the shortest way to Louisville, where my own affairs call me, will be by Indianapolis. Third, I have been informed by the *Catholic Herald* that the consecration of the excellent Bishop of Vincennes is to take place on the first Sunday of October in Bardstown, where most probably I will have the opportunity of seeing you. . . . To serve you it would be gratifying to me to extend my labors to the N.W. of your diocese, but the above date of my ordination has already informed you that I am more than 66 years of age, and considering that I now ride almost incessantly to attend five congregations on three lines of about 80 miles each, it would prove a deception and a presumption to attempt more than I do at present. Indeed I am compelled from debility to use many precautions, which I disregarded in former periods of my life. . . .

"As to the Indians, the greater number of them being Christians are on the borders of Michigan under the direction of the excellent priest, M. De Seille. He made this summer two trips

among the Pottawattamies of Tippecanoe, and baptized 76 of them the first Sunday of May, and 60 more the first Sunday of this month. The Pottawattamies of Michigan have sold all their land, and must emigrate within two years, but those of Tippecanoe have retained their reserves of land, and may form a Catholic mission in the Diocese of Vincennes. The Indians are our best congregations. Town lots have been procured in five or six places, viz: at South Bend (one and a half miles from my establishment on St. Joseph River), Fort Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, and Logansport. Three years ago I obtained also of Judge Hood two acres in the town of Peru, and prevailed on him to make his offer to Bishop Flaget, but as he did not answer the polite letter, and as lots have become valuable at Peru, there will perhaps be a demur. I caused the lot of Huntington to be deeded to Bishop Flaget, but the donor of eleven acres in Wabash, being a friend of mine, preferred to give me his obligation for the same, and I did not insist otherwise from motives of politeness and prudence.

"Our resources must be in the education of youth. Mr. Compere estimates that the congregation in and about Fort Wayne must amount to 100 families. Prevailing sickness and mortality, the absence of the pastor, and poverty have prevented the forwarding of church affairs. No time should be lost in forwarding the erection of chapels along the canal line, because as soon as the work is done in one section of the country the Catholic hands move to another section, and the prospect of building diminishes or vanishes. This has been evidenced at Fort Wayne, where the timber alone has been secured. There should be two priests riding constantly every week along a line of 80 miles."

Father Badin did not meet Bishop Bruté at Bardstown, for that prelate was consecrated at St. Louis, October 28, 1834. But he seems to have met him somewhere, for that prelate speaks of him in a communication to the *Catholic Telegraph*: "Rev. Mr. Badin returned all across Indiana to his St. Joseph's River, preaching in the courthouse at Indianapolis, then Mass on All Saints at Logansport—all activity with his snowy head."

Shortly after this Father Badin must have given up the care of his mission, for he was reported soon afterward to have gone to Cincinnati and "Washington, where important affairs required his attendance during the session of Congress." He

never came back to his Indians. Some parishes in Northern Indiana claim his presence at a later date, but it could only have been in a flying trip through those parts, such as he often subsequently made through parts of Ohio and elsewhere. Early in 1835 he had taken up his home in Cincinnati, and accompanied Bishop Purcell on some of his tours through his diocese, ever ready to take up the word in defense of Catholic truth.

One occasion when he showed this zeal was in the Cathedral of Cincinnati. It was on the 16th of March, 1835—Father Badin took several newspapers into the pulpit, and from one of them he read the following paragraph:

“In every Roman Catholic church in every land, once a year *at least, by the oath of their office*, the Roman Catholic priests are *bound officially* to pronounce a *solemn curse upon all* Wickliffites, Lutherans, Hussites, Calvinists and others, a long particular list, and generally upon all opposers of their faith, of whatever name; which curse is intended to take effect in this life, and to operate infinitely in the world to come. Italian and Austrian priests come to this hospitable country, and here *annually pronounce* the papal curse upon its inhabitants and its institutions.”

A listener to Father Badin that day reports a part of his sermon in the *Catholic Telegraph*, and says:

“Never shall we forget the small white figure of the preacher, the uplifted hand and tone and look of sincerity and candor, with which are associated in our minds the words he pronounced, ‘I have been forty years a priest, and I can say to-day what I could have said every day since my ordination, with the Apostle: “I speak the truth in Christ; I do not lie.”’ Soon in the ordinary course of nature, I must be gathered to my fathers. I may mingle my ashes with those of the good Bishop Fenwick, Rev. and pious Father Muñoz and another priest, who sleep in the vault under this church, and I must say before finishing my course, as I hope to be saved or damned by the Just Judge of all men, according as I shall have spoken truth or falsehood on this occasion, there is not the slightest ground for the alarm thus rung by the calumnious statements I have read, against the Catholics. I have taken an oath of allegiance to the Government and Constitution of the United States. I was an

American in feeling and conviction long before I became a naturalized citizen of this Republic. I would die now with a devotion next to that which I owe to my God for the country of my choice. Every priest in the Union, far from being obliged to swear at his ordination fidelity to any foreign power, as some lying statements I have read pretend to show, is required by his imperative sense of duty, natural, civil and religious, to do the same. After this declaration, which God, Who has heard me, has heard, and which He knows to be true, let us all kneel down and fulfil the commandment of the charitable saying to us: 'Do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate.' Here the Rev. speaker knelt, the congregation imitated the example set them, and all with one voice and one soul repeated the sublime prayer taught us by Jesus Christ: 'Our Father Who art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us!' This was divine revenge—this was the best Sabbath worship."

Father Badin also used his pen during these years for the same purpose, and the short articles we have from him show the same directness, clearness and innate conviction that marked his sermons, and evince the completeness of the grasp he had upon his subject. They are all assertively apologetic, and show the man long-skilled in controversy.

In 1837 Father Badin again took up his residence in Kentucky, but he remained as a sort of a free lance, without any charge. He had the title of Vicar-general, but Father Deluynes did the work of the office. He would visit the different pastors, and sing High Mass and preach for them, and pastors and people were glad of his presence, at least during those years before he began to show signs of any weakening in his strong mentality. In later years he grew somewhat peculiar, if not to say cranky, and his sermons were long and tiresome, yet his presence was an inspiration, and his old zeal would often flame up and spur others on to greater efforts.

In 1837 he went to Baltimore on some special business of his own, stopping at various places, but finally working his way back to Kentucky. It was noticed at this time that the influences of his youth were coming back upon him, and that he

sought more the society of those who spoke the sweet flowing language of his mother tongue. Near Louisville he found most of the French in the suburb of Portland, and it grieved him to know that their opportunities for hearing Mass and attending to their religious duties were not of the best. Within the little village he owned some property, and he was willing to give a location for a church, if some good priest would take up the work. Such a priest was found in the Rev. N. J. Perché, who later became the Archbishop of New Orleans. In 1840 the church was built, and although not exclusively for the French, the majority of its parishioners were of that nationality. Father Badin showed his unflinching "Romanism" on this occasion, for he stipulated in the deed to this property, that "no clergyman shall ever officiate in the church to be built on the lot granted, without the approbation of the Ordinary having jurisdiction in the Diocese of Bardstown, according to the faith and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church."

In 1842 Father Badin was consoled by a visit from his brother, the Very Rev. Vincent Badin of Detroit, Michigan. Of this worthy priest the *Detroit Register* of October 15, 1842, has this to say:

"It is with unfeigned regret that we learn that the Very Rev. Vincent T. Badin is about to leave this, the scene of his truly zealous missionary labors, for his native land (France). Father Badin has for the last twenty years devoted his time to the service of God in this place, and the parting of the Father and his numerous children, to whom he is endeared by long service, his paternal care, and his zealous labors, must be a lasting memorial, which time can only efface. Father Badin was the first ordained priest in the Diocese of Cincinnati, by its first Bishop, Right Rev. Edward Fenwick, and is brother to the venerable and Rev. S. T. Badin, who was the first ordained priest in the United States. He was born in France, and has served in Napoleon's army, and was in the memorable campaign to Russia. His missionary services have been wholly confined to this place, of which he was the Administrator after the demise of Father Richard, and since Detroit was formed into a diocese has been its vicar-general. He has always enjoyed good health, owing, under the blessing of God, to his strict temperance habits, and

although nearly four score years, is full of life and vigor. Father Badin intends to leave this morning, and is to be accompanied by a committee from St. Ann's congregation as far as Monroe. From thence he intends to go to Kentucky to see his venerable brother, and from thence to France."

During the intervening years, up to 1846, Father Badin made occasional trips into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, doing some missionary work, and visiting the places in which he had formerly labored. In 1843 he went to Lexington to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, by saying Mass at the same place where he first offered it in Kentucky. In 1844 he was in the heart of Illinois, on the Vermillion River, and in 1845 he was the guest of the Fathers of the Holy Cross at Notre Dame, at their annual College Commencement. Besides these visits outside of Kentucky, he was at the retreats given for the clergy of the Diocese of Louisville, and at many of those given for the different parishes, and at all the church dedications in his old missions. In view of certain accidents in many of these visits, he inserted the following notice in the *Catholic Advocate* of Louisville:

"STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN TO HIS FRIENDS, GREETINGS!

"As old age has rendered me forgetful, and as I frequently leave at places where I may happen to be, Books and various articles of Clothing, and as many books which have been loaned have not been returned—I do hereby give such friends an invitation to forward such articles, especially my *cloak*, to the nearest clergyman, requesting him to have them delivered to me as soon as will be convenient.

"Reader, do not be surprised at this request; the Apostle made a similar one.—2 Tim. iv. 13."

In 1846 he was in Chicago, and while there he was asked by Bishop Quarter to take pastoral charge of Kankakee. He had an assistant, as it was not probable that he could do much active work, but he superintended the work, and during this time he signed himself, vicar-general of Chicago.

The ailments of old age were coming upon him, and he suffered much from rheumatism. Nevertheless, he held this position at Kankakee about two years. After this he returned to Louisville, where he could be among his old friends if his af-

flections became too great, for he was dreading paralysis of his right arm. Fortunately, this fear was never realized to the extent of preventing him from saying Mass. A favor he often asked of his friends was to rub his affected arm, while they said the beads together.

All this time his relations with Bishop Flaget were very close and cordial, but some little friction existed between him and the coadjutor, Bishop Chabrat. It was not, however, of a very serious nature, and did not cause a break in their visible relations. With Bishop Spalding he showed more dissatisfaction. When Bishop Spalding decided to close the old cemetery around the church that Father Badin had built in Louisville and devote the ground to business purposes, Father Badin bitterly opposed what he considered a desecration, and when the new cathedral was planned to occupy the site of St. Louis' Church on Fifth Street, his patience was exhausted. He contended that the old church would do for years for a parish church, and that business would eventually surround it and render the location unfit for the first church of the diocese.

Events have shown that Father Badin was right in this, but his arguments went for nothing with Bishop Spalding, and when the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid, Father Badin would not appear at the ceremony. As soon as the ceremony was over, however, Father Badin was seen to take his stole and ritual and go over the foundations reciting the *Miserere*. A few days later he bade his friends good-by, and seated on his trunk upon an ordinary dray, he proceeded to the levee and boarded a steamboat for Cincinnati.

Only once afterward did he appear in Louisville, and that was at the funeral of Bishop Flaget, February 14, 1850, when, "at the close of the funeral oration, as a homage offered to the last surviving companion of Bishop Flaget, the venerable *Protosacerdos* of the American Church, Father Badin, was requested to perform the last absolution over the remains of his departed friend."

At Cincinnati Father Badin had many friends, and always found the doors of the priests' houses open to him. Bishop Purcell gave him a room in his own house, and did all that he could to make him comfortable. He came and went as he

pleased, and he used the same freedom with the pastors whom he visited. He was respected by everyone, and revered by many. The following account of an incident, related in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* of June 8, 1850, will show the respect he commanded. It was on the occasion of the celebration of the feast of Our Lady, *Auxilium Christianorum*, at St. Xavier's College:

"... In the evening all assisted at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, which was given by the venerable Proto-priest. After the religious exercises the College Band treated their friends and visitors to some first-rate music, which closed, to the great satisfaction of all present, with a beautiful composition named in honor of our beloved Octogenarian, the 'Badin Polka.' Father Badin is now in his fifty-eighth year of priesthood."

We know how Father Badin felt about dancing, and can not help wondering if his objections extended to dance music. He may not have recognized it as such, but if he did, would his thoughts revert to the many occasions when he put an abrupt end to such music in Kentucky, or would he recall the war dances of his savages in the wilds of Michigan? Times, however, were changing, and Father Badin changed with them. One of the last letters he ever wrote, now preserved in the American Catholic Archives at Notre Dame, contains the acknowledgment that he had been too severe in his earlier practice, and too exacting of the poor, sinful penitents who sought God's pardon through him.

In the beginning of the year 1853 his health began to fail more rapidly, and it was evident that the end was not far off. On April 19th of that year the Archbishop and priests of the Cathedral were gathered around his bed, a terrific thunderstorm was passing over the city, but the storm passed, a stillness reigned outside, brightness came into the sky again, they looked at the quiet figure on the couch—his soul had just passed away. The Proto-priest of the United States had gone to join the Proto-bishop who had ordained him, and the other great missionaries with whom he had labored preparing the ground

and planting the seed of the Church of God in the most promising field of modern times. His remains were placed beside those of Bishop Fenwick under the Cathedral, as he once said they might be, and his wish thus expressed may explain why Kentucky never laid claim to them. Ohio profited by Kentucky's sacrifice. They who knew him appreciated the gift, and it is said that Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, for his private devotions in the Cathedral, always selected a certain obscure corner in the sanctuary, and when asked why he did so, replied that it was because under that spot lay the remains of Father Badin.

But the older generation passed away and with it many of its memories, so that, in 1904, when the Fathers of the Holy Cross asked that his remains be transferred to their institution at Notre Dame, Indiana, their request was granted. On the spot where he built his log chapel at that place when he was a missionary among the Indians, the Fathers caused another log chapel to be raised, an exact replica of the first, and, on May 3, 1906, the last burial of Father Badin took place, and his bones were placed in a tomb in front of the altar near the middle of this chapel. A marble slab sunk in the floor over the tomb commemorates his life.

In 1912, the centennial year of the Sisters of Loretto in Kentucky, a statue of Father Badin was erected by the priests of the Louisville Diocese, under the lead of Rev. Edwin Drury, late Chaplain of Loretto, on the site of Father Badin's old chapel of St. Stephen, and the heroic figure of the valiant pioneer keeps guard over the land that he loved. A bone from one of his limbs is enshrined in the pedestal, and the oration at the unveiling, on May 22, 1912, was pronounced by the eloquent Father Cavanagh, C.S.C., the President of the University of Notre Dame.

Father Badin made his will in 1840, and among its provisions he left his heart "to be put into a chrystal, preserved by chemical preparation, and sent to be buried at Loretto by the grave of my venerable friend, the Rev. Charles Nerinecx, and I give to the said Institution one of my portraits." This pro-

vision in regard to his heart was not carried out. Possibly, the will was not found in time to comply with the instructions.

Other bequests were: a small cash donation to his sister; his vestments and church plate to his reverend brother; two lots in Louisville to the Sisters of Nazareth for the girls' orphanage; three hundred and eighty acres of land in St. Joseph County, Indiana, to the Bishop of Vincennes; two lots in Portland, Kentucky, to St. Mary's College, Kentucky, also three acres of ground between Louisville and Portland, and his library, papers and manuscripts. To the same institution he left an acre of ground in Portland for the establishment of a church and school for the poor and the orphans.

The final devise read: "Whereas, in virtue of the will of the late Thomas Howard of Nelson County, Ky., the tenure of his land, known by the name of St. Thomas' Seminary, is vested in me (as being survivor to Bishop Carroll and Rev. Charles Nerinckx, my legal co-heirs) and my heirs, I do hereby devise and bequeath the same to the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget and his coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, and the survivors of them and the heirs of such survivors forever."

The history of Father Badin remains to be written. It is a duty that belongs to the Church in Kentucky, and to the Church in the United States, to bring out of obscurity this noted apostle of religion, and show him to the world with all his glory around him. There is no enigma in his life that needs remain so, and there is no circumstance in it which does not admit of a light that will show him singularly unselfish, and animated with the highest sentiments of honor and religion. In order to give him his proper place in the history of the Church it will not be necessary to pull down another, for in the house of God there are many mansions, and Father Badin's place has different appointments and different furnishings from that of any other. Who will rise to the occasion and confer this great boon on the Church of America? In the meantime, venerable Apostle of Kentucky, rest in peace!

THE DIVORCE OF MADAME PATTERSON BONAPARTE

BY RT. REV. MGR. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

M. Sérurier, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy to the President of the United States, became a very worried man when he learned that Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte had decided for the future to pass her winters in Washington, where his residence was fixed. This lady, whom only the representative of France called Miss Patterson, was recognized by all others as Madame Jerome Bonaparte, for she had married in 1803 the First Consul's youngest brother, who was serving as an officer on a French man-of-war, which had visited the United States under favor of the peace of Amiens. In Baltimore Jerome had met Miss Patterson, daughter of the richest and most respected merchant of that city, remarkable for her beauty as well as for her wit and accomplishments. The marriage took place in December without the consent of the Emperor or the knowledge of the other relatives of Jerome. In fact, he did not take the trouble to consult them, so Napoleon protested immediately in a most formal manner. When Jerome returned to Europe in 1805 he yielded to the orders of him who had become Emperor, caused the marriage to be annulled, left his wife and married the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. Even in Christian society it has been difficult to get kings and princes to be true to their marriage vows. When Jerome became King of Westphalia he offered to Elizabeth Patterson the title of Princess of Smalkalden with the domain of this name in her new possessions and an income of \$40,000 yearly. She refused, saying, "Westphalia is not a kingdom large enough to contain two queens," and alluding to the pension which Napoleon offered her at the same time, she added: "I prefer to take shelter under the wings of an eagle than under the beak of a goose."

Napoleon had promised to give Elizabeth Patterson a pension of sixty thousand francs on condition that she should go back to America. She accepted and returned to her country, which she did not quit again until 1815. But at this time, although she kept the name of Bonaparte, by which she was known until her death, she had broken the legal ties which bound her to Jerome in America by obtaining a divorce, which her biographers have placed neither at its exact date nor with the circumstances which really determined it. One of the last of them, M. Didier, assigns 1815 as the year and as reason, the desire of Madame Bonaparte to prevent Jerome from claiming a part of her fortune in case of Napoleon's fall. But her real reasons for the divorce were entirely different.

Until then Elizabeth Patterson had divided her time between Baltimore and the country houses of her father in Maryland. Now she came to live in Washington, and M. Sérurier immediately foresaw that the meeting between the representative of Napoleon and his unrecognized sister-in-law could not fail to create serious embarrassment in a society so restricted as that of the federal capitol.

Washington was then hardly ten years above ground. Created by law, the city had only a small number of houses erected, some near the residence of the President, the others around the Capitol, still unfinished. Cattle grazed in the newly laid out streets; traffic was by carriage or on horseback; everything had to be bought from outside of the city and living was very costly. As Madame Bonaparte had a love for Europe, especially for France, she consequently sought the society of the families of the foreign diplomats and statesmen around her. These and state officials at that time composed Washington society almost exclusively. Sérurier was so careful to make no mistake that he asked for instructions from Paris. They came to him very late, but were happily in accord with the line of conduct that he had traced out for himself: to treat Madame Bonaparte with courtesy and consideration, to make her frequent visits and to receive her in society, but to consider her always as only Miss Patterson.

The political condition was stormy for her the first winter that she spent in Washington from 1810 to 1811. It was the time when the question whether the United States should make war on England or not was discussed. Two currents, the one favorable to England, the other to France, divided the country and the society of Washington. The family of Elizabeth Patterson, in consequence of her relationship with the Secretary of War, Mr. Smith, favored England. Removed from the cabinet in 1810 by President Madison, the Secretary and his brother, General Smith, in violent opposition to the policy of the French tendency of our Government, naturally took sides with the English minister, Mr. Foster. Foster was young and amiable, the family of Elizabeth Patterson persuaded her to receive him, because women were considered neutrals in affairs of state. She yielded so well to their advice that on account of the repeated visits of Foster to her home, Sérurier judged it proper to diminish the number of his own, leaving her to understand that neutrality was not becoming to a person in her position. Besides, as he gave feasts for the sympathizers with the war party, that is, the friends of France, Foster, who had made it a rule of conduct to imitate his French colleague, organized a feast for the English party and naturally invited Elizabeth. He wished at the same time to embellish his salon by the presence of the most beautiful and the most celebrated woman of America and convert to the side of England a person "who continued to place her chief glory in bearing a name so illustrious and so French.

Sérurier, very much annoyed, sent word to Elizabeth by one of his lady friends that he could hardly believe that she could fall into so open a trap; that to appear at the house of the Minister of England would be to supply powerful arms to her enemies, if she had any; and that such a notorious act would prevent him from visiting her any more. She thanked him for his advice and did not go to M. Foster's party.

Far from being discouraged, the Englishman redoubled his attentions and zeal, whilst his French colleague could only give cold counsel and manifest great respect, but without results. The struggle was indeed very unequal and Elizabeth could not

avoid showing some gratitude, at least, in appearance, for the courtesies of Mr. Foster. But everyone was convinced that this sentiment with her had very narrow limits and would have no results; in other words, that she would not change her name of Bonaparte for that of Foster. Sérurier thought it his duty at this crisis to risk making certain representations to her. She received them very badly and told him that she intended to govern herself by her own rules and not by his. On which her would-be guide and monitor, rather abashed, confined himself to saying to her that he would importune her no more with his advice. In the meanwhile, fortunately for him, war broke out between the United States and England. Foster was obliged to leave, Elizabeth returned to her family at Baltimore and appears not to have again seen the gallant minister of England when he passed through that city to embark for his home.

Sérurier had triumphed; he considered Elizabeth, in consequence of the defeat of the English party, as definitely sheltered from their evil influence; he did not know what a painful surprise was in store for him.

It was at the beginning of 1811, the very day when Elizabeth returned to Washington. Sérurier was at home, about to receive Mr. Russell, formerly *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at Paris, when someone gave him a Baltimore newspaper, just arrived. He opened it and was astonished to read in it a petition for divorce addressed by Elizabeth to the Legislature of the State of Maryland. As he expressed his surprise to Russell, he answered that although he was not fully cognizant of the lady's affairs he knew she was tired of her irksome position and had decided to change it; that she considered herself and that every one considered her legitimately married, and that her marriage not having been recognized, it became necessary to dissolve it legally so that she might be free herself. Moreover, according to a law passed in most of the United States, which was about to be enacted also in Maryland, any one who received a pension or subsidy from a foreign potentate was deprived of all the rights of an American citizen. It was therefore important for her to protect her father's fortune; an immediate di-

voice would have the effect of rendering her competent to receive the dower he was prepared to give her and she would have time to change the estate into movables before the bill was passed.

Sérurier, although he bowed to this reason which was a sufficient one considering the circumstances, expressed the regret that Elizabeth had not told him before making it public; he would have considered it more becoming that this bit of news should have been announced at Paris through the legation at Washington instead of by the newspapers. It was especially the fact of citing to court the King of Westphalia which the obsequious functionary thought an insult to royal majesty, for he considered it "contrary to the constant usage which recognizes that sovereigns depend only on God and can not be cited before the courts of state." A representative of Louis XIV would have thus defended the prerogative of "divine right."

Next day, Sérurier received the following letter:

"Monsieur, I regret to be compelled to take up the time of your Excellency, but I would think that I had failed in the respect and the gratitude which I owe to his imperial Majesty for the interest which his Majesty deigns to take in my position if I kept silence regarding the motives which have determined my demand for divorce from the Legislature of Maryland.

"My absolute ignorance of the law has been the only cause of the delay in asking for this legal formality which I considered useless in view of the events personally interesting to me which had taken place in Europe. I thought, by mistake, that they would have the same effect for me in America; that the divorce desired by the Emperor in France would have been valid here.

"The amendment proposed in 1810 to the Constitution of the United States after having passed the two houses of Congress, has since been adopted by several States and should naturally become, after a little while, effective as law. In consequence of this amendment 'Every citizen of this country who without the consent of Congress, should accept or retain any

present, pension or emolument of any kind whatsoever from an emperor, king or potentate, becomes incapable of exercising any of the rights or privileges of a free citizen of the United States, or of the individual States.'

"Your Excellency will easily perceive that the word *pension*, *present* or *emolument* can be applied to the circumstance in which I find myself actually placed. The lawyers who have been consulted in regard to this matter deem it necessary that I should sell or transfer to trustees that portion of my paternal inheritance actually in my possession which consists in houses or lands; movables being naturally not affected by this law.

"Every contract of consequence made by myself alone, unless a divorce had been previously granted by the laws of the United States, would be neither valid nor obligatory. I have been compelled therefore to petition the Assembly of the State of Maryland actually in session to grant this divorce, which will enable me to turn into ready money the immovable property which I had received from my father.

"As it is perfectly known to every one in this country that his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, had the kindness, with his accustomed generosity, to grant me a pecuniary subsidy which I hold, my immovable property could be seized, if I omitted to take the precaution necessary to secure it before the amendment became a part of the American Constitution, which would be the case when that amendment had been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

"If your Excellency, which I hardly permit myself to suppose, could consider this indispensable procedure on my part as having some importance, or at least as having enough importance to be transmitted to him, I flatter myself that it will receive the sanction of his Imperial Majesty, for whom I shall always entertain sentiments of the profoundest respect and gratitude."

As soon as he received this letter Sérurier went to Elizabeth Patterson and explained to her orally and forcibly all that he had said to Russell. She answered that the reason for her silence regarding her intention was because she was persuaded that her plans could not interest the Emperor. She professed

again her gratitude to him but added: "Everybody in America recognizes my marriage as perfectly legitimate; it is of no consequence therefore to break it in order to have a position which will assure my liberty as well as my fortune."

When Sérurier remarked that the public might probably attribute her action to the wish to marry again, she answered that she had actually no thought of this kind but nevertheless that she did not renounce her liberty to do as she pleased in that regard in the future. This view Sérurier, as we know, feared very much, and therefore he thought it useful to his cause, as she said nothing of her son, to attack her on this tender subject, so he asked her if the thought of this child did not come to her mind when she signed the petition for divorce. But Elizabeth was not disconcerted. She replied rather dryly that she did not see what her son had to do with her intended action. The Minister of France saw that his arguments were of no avail, and reflecting with gallantry that it is better "to allow oneself to be beaten than to wound," he confined himself to remarking that it was hardly probable that the second Chamber of the Maryland Legislature would grant the request of Elizabeth, and then asked her to withdraw her plea, and if she did so he would report to his Majesty her act of deference to his wishes. She, however, persisted in her refusal saying, that whatever rumor her reputed action might cause had already been spread and besides that she could wait no longer considering all the circumstances. In spite of Sérurier's continued persistence, all his powers of persuasion were wasted on the strong will of the lady. He had to retreat remarking, however, that her petition for divorce would be considered in France as very offensive; but to prevent her from going over to the extreme party, he added that the generosity of the Emperor was unlimited and that he, Sérurier, earnestly desired to find himself mistaken in his fears.

The diplomat was beaten; his art as well as his entreaties were blunted by the firmness of the beautiful American girl. In face of such determination what attitude could he assume? His first impulse was to protest against every act of the legislature of Maryland, an action which would interest the King

of Westphalia as derogatory to his sovereign prerogatives. After reflection he deemed it better to do nothing, determining, however, in case the divorce should be pronounced, that if he did not protest it was because he was not accredited as Minister of Westphalia. This was the wiser course, for the affairs of Madame Patterson after having attracted public attention for a time ceased to be talked about, and her divorce so far had made little noise in the world. A protest would have set fire to the gossiping community.

As to the pension of 60,000 francs given by the Emperor, Sérurier was in favor of continuing it. Every one knew that Elizabeth Patterson received it and this liberality of the Emperor was generally approved by public opinion. As to his personal relations with her, Sérurier decided to continue his visits, but to make them less frequent and to invite her rarely to his home. If he had broken with her altogether everything would have been at an end on the side of France and the English party would take advantage of the rupture to try to induce her to take extreme measures, that is, to tempt her to marry an Englishman.

The following is the substance of the petition that she had addressed to the General Assembly of Maryland in introducing her petition for divorce: "Your petitioner was married according to the laws of the United States to Jerome Bonaparte in the year 1803. Since that date Jerome Bonaparte left this country for France, where his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French thought proper to consider as null the marriage existing between your petitioner and the aforesaid Jerome Bonaparte, who has since married a German princess and has become King of Westphalia. Your petitioner deems it useless, even if the delicacy of her position would permit it, to recall the different considerations which should determine an enlightend Legislature to grant permission to annul marriage contracted and maintained under such circumstances.

"This is why she respectfully submits this affair to your honorable body, which, in reflecting that the general good prescribes the indissolubility of the marriage contract, will not fail to remember that there may exist and in fact that there do really

exist cases where the happiness of individuals may be consulted without injury to the permanent good of society."

The bill pronouncing the dissolution of the marriage was passed the second of January by the Legislature of Maryland. Immediately after, Elizabeth expressed to M. Sérurier her desire to go to France to look after the education of her son which had been so far very much neglected. Young Bonaparte had no teacher and did not go to college; "yet he was," says Sérurier, "a child of great promise, full of fire, of great natural wit and inherited all the pride of his origin." His mother added that she was, in any case, decided to leave America and that if her request was refused, she would live in some other part of Europe, for the pension allowed her by the Emperor was sufficient to satisfy all her requirements.

She had to wait till the fall of Napoleon to realize her purpose, for she did not go to Europe till the summer of 1815. There she afterward passed the greater part of her long life, which ended in 1879. Well received at Paris, London, Geneva and at Florence, she seldom returned and then only for a short time, to the United States, which she found very tiresome and dull. She needed elegant and aristocratic company, the atmosphere of courts and the society of distinguished people.

Of remarkable beauty, which lasted almost to the end of her life, of a witty and sarcastic turn of character, yet she never gossiped about her neighbors, she passed through trials and temptations unscathed, for her matrimonial experience had made her distrust the world in general. Of a cold and haughty manner, because she had the name of Bonaparte, Sérurier measured her exactly when he painted her in the following words: "The great quality in Madame Patterson's character is extreme pride, developed equally by her good and bad fortune and a distrust of everybody. She has great shrewdness and great control of herself. She has a strong desire to please in society, but she brings into it also remembrance of the past which protects her against all common flattery. She accepts homage, but disdainfully rejects presumptuous flattery."

Note.—I am indebted to an article in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, by Maurice Borel, for the facts stated. See *Revue*, July 1, 1914.

A CONGREGATION STARTED BY A NON-CATHOLIC

DETAILS IN A LETTER OF CARDINAL MC CLOSKEY

A generous friend of the United States Catholic Historical Society, one to whom its RECORDS AND STUDIES are already indebted, but who modestly refuses to disclose his identity, has again placed the Editor under an obligation. This time he sends us an autograph letter of the late Cardinal McCloskey, written when that prelate was Coadjutor Bishop of New York, and which details the very interesting and singular manner in which a non-Catholic started the church mentioned in the Cardinal's letter.—Editor RECORDS AND STUDIES.

The following commentary on the subjoined letter from the pen of the first American Cardinal must begin with a word of explanation concerning the address which, in accordance with the old style of mailing, appears on the reverse side of the sheet.

The letter is addressed "Salubria, N. Y." This is puzzling for the reason that the town-name Salubria (it appears also in the text of the letter) does not exist at present in the Empire State. The difficulty, however, is easily disposed of. Seventy years ago Salubria was honored on the map, where it appeared in the fullness of its health-resort suggestiveness. The name had been attached to what is now the western New York town, Watkins, situated at the foot of Seneca Lake, and widely known as guardian of its wonderland, Watkins Glen.

Our epistolary relic of Bishop McCloskey's missionary labors is of increased interest by reason of its passage from the Right Reverend Coadjutor of the (then statewide) diocese of New York to one who was not of the Faith but who, nevertheless, had made himself Salubria's leader in Catholic affairs. This was George Edward Quin, a successful young lawyer, full of sunny humor and ready to give a helping hand to any worthy cause needing support.

As the letter shows, the lawyer, having stirred the local Catholics to action, had negotiated the purchase of a church from the Protestants, and, confident of ecclesiastical approval, had even suggested that the Mother of God be made its patroness. Accordingly the church secured through this very unusual agency, and which is still the only Catholic place of worship in Watkins, is dedicated to St. Mary of the Lake.

Meanwhile, the foregoing efforts were not enough for the zealous "heretic" with "a Catholic heart." At the moment of introduction we find him occupied with plans for the adaptation of the little Protestant edifice to Catholic worship, also for providing vestments and other religious necessities; and finally he was moving to have the Salubrians enjoy the advantage, so exceptional in those days, of a resident priest. The future Cardinal must have indeed smiled while writing. He was dealing with a veritable pillar of the Church wanting in all the qualifications commonly rated fundamental—Baptism itself included.

By the time the new congregation had gotten fairly under way Mr. Quin's period of residence in Watkins was nearing its close. He removed to Utica, New York. There, during the decade that remained to him, he was the partner in his profession with his brother-in-law, Francis Kernan, the first Catholic to represent New York in the Senate of the United States.

The Cardinal's solicitude for the spiritual welfare of his correspondent calls for a brief account of the latter's religious life. On the mother's side Mr. Quin was of Puritan stock through the Wolcott family, prominent in the colonial history of Connecticut. On the other hand his father's parents were Irish Catholics. However, these pioneers died in the spiritual wastes of Chemung County, New York, where they had settled at the opening of the nineteenth century, without leaving any sufficient impress of their Faith on their children. With these antecedents the surprise is that this promoter of Catholic interests had become such without making himself more than a respectful admirer of Catholicism.

The remarkably earnest and wide endeavor we have seen

put forth did not mean that the helper professed consciousness of any genuine inclination to enter the Fold. His efforts were prompted chiefly by loyalty to the excellent Catholic family into which, following the example of an uncle, he was about to marry, and with which he had long been on terms of close friendship.

Hence the choice of the Blessed Virgin as patroness of the newly acquired church. In that matter the non-Catholic lawyer certainly had no personal interest. His preference was but an echo of the wish of the pious Catholics to whom he was attached. The reader can now relish the Cardinal's action in underlining the magic word "love." It is charming to find the dignified prelate in an "aside" with Cupid in order to acknowledge the little heathen's contribution to the spread of Christianity.

Meanwhile the non-believing church organizer, remembered in the prayers of the holy Bishop, and in those of a grateful congregation, had gained the saving care of St. Mary of the Lake. During his last illness he gave Catholicism serious thought. The Church was no longer regarded as simply a means of doing kindness to others but as a probable necessity for himself. Humble, sane attention to this all important subject was crowned with the ever occurring result. Nearing the end Mr. Quin gladly became a member of the Catholic Church. His death occurred during the summer of 1863.

Viewed in the light of this happy conversion the Cardinal's prayer which closes his letter reads like a confident prediction. One day when the Cardinal's friend was in the awful presence of death, that friend was indeed blessed with the Faith of his kindred "sleeping in peace"; with "the Faith that is the best solace in all of our woes." The following is the Cardinal's letter:

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR:

I beg to acknowledge the due receipt of your kind letter dated 12th inst. in which you inform me that you have concluded an

agreement for the purchase of the church in which I had the privilege of lecturing last summer while on a visit to your pleasant little village. I need not say how very gratifying this intelligence has been to me. The terms upon which the building may be secured are very reasonable, yet even on such moderate and reasonable terms I had hardly supposed that the Catholics of your place, being so limited in number, and so much more limited in means, would have had the courage to undertake the purchase. No doubt they derive great confidence from the generous exertion of the gentleman who in your letter is pleased to style himself a "*heretic*"—but all *heretic* as he is, has still a *Catholic heart*.

With regard to the deed and its validity under the restriction clause, of which you have spoken, you yourself being "skilled in law," will be abundantly able to judge. I should presume that it would be good enough, unless the plea would be set up by some of the "Saints" that "Popish" service is not "Divine" but *heathen* service, and that, therefore, the church being once appropriated to Catholic (or Popish) worship, it would be estranged from the purpose specified, and must consequently revert to its original owners. This *knotty* point you can better unravel than myself. A quit title w^d of course, be best, but under the circumstances will not be required—the reversionary interest may be purchased if deemed advisable at some later period. The church may be called St. Mary's as you desire. I admire and respect the feeling which suggested that name.

As to alterations and repairs it will be better to make such only at first as are found necessary—the addition for a vestry and confessional w^d be among the first. In the church you will require a *sanctuary* raised one step above the floor, and an *altar* elevated two or three steps above the level of the sanctuary. I would advise you, however, not to proceed with this, without your clergyman's advice upon the spot;—or at least without having obtained a suitable plan from either the church of Binghampton or Geneva or some other, which you may follow. Candelsticks and vestments and chalice will also be wanted; but these the clergyman who visits you will supply in the beginning;—they may be purchased for the church when your means will permit.

These articles can be had in New York at moderate prices—other ornaments and decorations may be added by degrees. To give you some idea of the cost of the more necessary articles, I should say that *chalices* may be purchased at any price varying from \$16 to \$100—vestments from \$20—upward.

I should be too happy to have it in my power to promise you a resident clergyman either in Salubria or Geneva. But this is quite impracticable *just now*. The time, I trust, is not far distant when your laudable wishes in this respect may be gratified. Meanwhile go on courageously and with hope. On my next visit I may see what further can be done to promote the interests of religion in your place and vicinity. As the Ministers by that time will have worn their present subjects pretty threadbare, I may have the pleasure of furnishing them with some *new texts*—for which, doubtless, they will be much obliged to me.

It is truly deplorable that the poor Catholics must be the only ones who shall be forever the objects of vituperation and abuse, and denied the right which belongs to all of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

However, it must be so. Truth rests securely on its own foundation. Error finds its existence only in *assailing* truth. I wish heartily there were no worse “heretics” than yourself. Then would we have more charity, more peace, more *hope*. For I still pray that God may one day bless you with that *faith* which was the faith of those of your own kindred who have gone before you, and who now sleep in peace—which is still the faith of those whom you respect and *love*, which is the best remedy for all our wants, the best solace for all our woes. Remember me kindly to all and believe me, Dear Sir

Very truly and sincerely

Yours &c.

✠ JOHN McCLOSKEY.

GEO. W. QUIN.

P. S. I forgot to say that the deed had better be made out in the name of one *of the purchasers*, who will afterward transfer it to the Bishop of the diocese.

VERY REV. JOHANN STEPHAN RAFFEINER, V.G.

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN

Among the anniversaries that the diocese of Brooklyn will commemorate during the year 1916 is the diamond jubilee of the parish of the Most Holy Trinity, the foster-mother of the great German section of the Catholics of Long Island. The commemoration makes of special interest some details of the career of Father Raffener, the pioneer missionary pastor among the German Catholics of New York, Brooklyn, Boston and other places in the Eastern States, where colonies of Germans had located in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Johann Stephan Raffener was born on December 26, 1785, in the village of Mals, in the Austrian Tyrol. His parents were well-to-do people who encouraged his desire to become a priest, and sent him to make his preparatory studies at the Benedictine house, at Innsbruck. Thence he went to Rome to take up his theological course, which, however, was interrupted, in 1809, by the Napoleonic wars that necessitated the closing of the religious institutions of the city of the Popes. He then began the study of medicine, and obtaining his degree of doctor, on May 4, 1813, was attached to the staff of one of the hospitals in Rome. In his practice he displayed remarkable talents, his repute being further enhanced by the skill he displayed while acting as a surgeon in the Austrian army, where by 1815, he was at the head of his profession. He resigned this position, however, and after practising for a year in the little Italian town of Bornio went to the University of Berlin for advanced medical studies and then settled down for three years to practise his profession in the Tyrol and Switzerland. His ability as a physician gave him the care of many wealthy patients. He was fast amassing wealth when the old longing for the higher calling seized him with new force, and he abandoned his promising worldly future to resume his interrupted

theological studies. On May 1, 1825, he was ordained priest, at Brixen in the Tyrol, where, for the seven following years, he labored as a pastor and as the chaplain of a neighboring hospital his twofold training happily tending to both the spiritual and the corporal welfare of those with whom he came in contact.

About that time the need for priests among the German Catholics who had settled in the United States was attracting much attention in Austria. Stimulated by it, Father Raffener received permission from the Bishop of Brixen to volunteer for this work in answer to an appeal made by Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, through the Leopoldine Association that his vicar-general, Father Rese, had organized to aid the American missions. Father Raffener started for Cincinnati and arrived in New York, on January 1, 1833. Bishop Dubois was attracted by his strong personality and persuaded him to remain in New York and begin his missionary labors among the fast growing colony of German Catholics who had settled east of the Bowery in the district lying between St. James' and St. Mary's parishes. The rector of the latter church, then newly built, at Grand and Ridge Streets, the Rev. William Quarter, later the first Bishop of Chicago, was a helpful friend in the organization of the German Catholics of the East Side. Father Raffener, who had brought to this country a considerable sum of money earned by him as a physician, used his own fortune in promoting the spread of the Faith. He hired a carpenter shop in Delancey Street and fitted it up as a temporary chapel where he said Mass. Then he leased a former Baptist church at Delancey and Pitt Streets, where the first New York congregation of German Catholics was formally organized. Under his zealous administration it rapidly increased in numbers and devotion and steps were taken to secure a site for a permanent church. For this purpose, four lots of ground, with a frontage of one hundred feet and a depth of one hundred and six, on Second street, between Avenue A and First Avenue, were purchased through Dr. Joseph C. Springer, from John Jacob Astor, on September 1, 1834. The corner stone of this new



ST. FRANCIS IN-THE-FIELD



VERY REV. JOHANN STEPHEN RAFFENER.



HOLY TRINITY CHURCH.

church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas of Myra, was laid, on Easter Monday, April 20, 1835, by the Very Rev. Dr. John Power, V.G., the English sermon being preached to the large concourse assembled by the Rev. Joseph A. Schneller, then of Christ Church, Ann Street, and a discourse in German by Father Raffener.

The building was fifty-two by seventy feet and its cost for work and materials \$8,174; for fittings \$1,384 and for the organ \$600. Before it was entirely finished the lease of the hired Baptist meeting house in Delancey Street expired, and the new congregation were for a time accommodated by Father Quarter in the basement of St. Mary's, Grand Street. The dedication of St. Nicholas' took place on Easter Sunday, 1836. The parish was later incorporated under the old New York law with a board of lay trustees elected by the pew-holders.

For seven years Father Raffener officiated as pastor of St. Nicholas', having as his assistant the famous Benedictine Father Nicholas Balleis. He did not confine himself to the limits of this East Side parish, however. Archbishop Hughes, in speaking of his work, declared that "wherever there were German Catholics there would Father Raffener seek them out and minister to them, being prevented neither by the winter's snows, the summer's sun, nor the inconvenience of travel in that day, from fulfilling the duties assigned him."

He visited the missions at Macopin and other places in New Jersey; at Albany, Utica, Rochester and elsewhere in New York State, and at the request of Bishop Fenwick went to Boston in May, 1835, where he started Holy Trinity parish.¹ Two letters, written by him which are preserved in the records of the Leopoldine Association, translations of which follow, give an insight into his activities while visiting the scattered German congregations, and also into the conditions then existing among them. The first letter is addressed to the Prince Archbishop of Vienna, the ecclesiastical head of the Leopoldine Association:

¹See "Records and Studies," p. 133, Vol. VII, June, 1914.

Boston, Aug. 16, and Nov. 21, 1840.

Most Reverend Prince Archbishop.

YOUR GRACE: As greatly as Your Grace's letter delighted me, so greatly I am pained that I was unable to thank Your Grace for the unusual favor shown me thereby and the twenty gilders which it enclosed. Your Grace's letter was not sent from Washington to New York until June 4, and was delivered to me in the beginning of July on my return from Macopin.

As Your Grace expressed the wish that I should send you some news about my missions, I think it proper to begin with some account of Macopin which I visited on leaving New York.¹

Macopin is situated in the north of the State of New Jersey on a high and extensive range of mountains. Ninety-three years ago, three Catholic families took refuge there in order to practise their religion. The ancestors of these families named Seealster coming from the Black Forest, Marian and Strobel from the neighborhood of Mainz, were induced to come to America by many promises on the part of some English speculative company and employed in an iron foundry. But inasmuch as at that time these good old people valued their souls more than their earnings, they withdrew to a mountainous uninhabited desert. There they built some huts and called upon the Lord without fear according to their ancient Catholic custom. There also they dared to bring forth their rosaries, their prayer books, their crucifixes and images from their trunks. Now, the only thing they needed to complete their happiness was the frequent visit of a priest. But where go for a priest and who will take the risk were the questions which for a time no one could answer. Finally they heard of missionaries reported to be in Maryland. A distance of three hundred miles to be traveled through wastes passing through swamps and forests could not damp their desire for a pastor. After a hard journey of four weeks, full of many dangers, they finally returned accompanied by a priest. Whoever asked them where they were going and who was their companion received the answer, we are looking for a doctor and this gentleman is the doctor. This equivocal and prudent way of answering was necessary at the time, for the British penal laws were at that time still in full force in this country, Maryland only was an exception. This

¹As the preceding letter of Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston reported, Father Raffener had held two missions for the German congregation in Boston.

State Charles I, King of England, gave as a place of refuge to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman and to other Catholics. In consequence of this cruel law every Catholic priest was doomed to death if he crossed the border of Maryland. But Father Farmer (this is the name of our German apostolic doctor) looked on such a death as a gain. Every year he came to Macopin, often twice a year. After eight years, said the eldest of the Seealster family, he bade us good-by. When leaving us, he told us, among other things, "God will call me from this life within the year and you will meet regularly and say the rosary together. The Blessed Virgin will then protect you against apostasy." By these words Father Farmer, whose memory among the people of Macopin is blessed and lasting, had foretold two things that he could not know naturally. He died the same year without having been sick and Macopin remained Catholic, while all emigrants in the State of New York and New Jersey gave up the Faith of their fathers. The first generation became heretics and the next heathens.

On the right and left banks of the Hudson, which is navigable from Albany downward and which empties into the ocean after a course of one hundred and sixty miles, German settlements are found everywhere. When I visited the Germans that had arrived only in my time, I often found the opportunity to speak with the grandsons and great-grandsons of former emigrants. Some of them told me that they were descendants of Catholic ancestors; others mentioned the birthplace of their forefathers, and I often drew the inference that their ancestors must have been Catholic.

Fourteen months ago I was at Macopin the first time. At that time the church resembled a barn, the youth were almost wholly ignorant of religion, but quite anxious to be instructed therein. A German schoolmaster living twenty-four miles away, and who was the first to inform me about Macopin, accompanied me. We arrived there on a Friday evening; on Saturday morning we began our work. I gave instruction in Catechism and heard confessions, he examined the best houses and where he saw a picture or Christian engraving, he borrowed it for the altar as well as linen and table cloths to cover the bare walls. The boys were sent into the woods to bring young trees and the girls to bring field flowers. An asperges was manufactured from the ends of the branches and a common bell was substituted for the altar bell. When the faithful came to church on Sunday, they were astonished. "We have never seen anything like this," they said. They opened their ears when I

intoned the *Gloria in excelsis*. Only an old lady eighty-two years of age had a suspicion what it meant. She waited for me at the church door. "Well," she said with tears in her eyes, "I am satisfied to die, now that I have heard High Mass; my mother often told me how beautiful it was in a Catholic Church when High Mass was sung." After Mass, I invited the fathers of families to meet me in the afternoon in order to consult about finishing the church. We subscribed for its completion. I began the subscription with \$10, and consequently nobody dared to give less. Moreover, it was resolved next to the church to put up a frame structure where I was to reside during the next mission. In the evening I taught Catechism and said the Rosary. Returning home, I found a man waiting for me who asked me to instruct and baptize him. He told me he professed no religion and had not yet been baptized.

When I left New York, I thought to stay at Macopin for a longer time. But to tell the truth, after four days, hunger brought me down from the mountains, for the people have so scanty means of living that they can not share their food with others. Moreover, everything, especially smoked meat, is so excessively salty that it is not possible to eat it. Possibly this unwholesome food may be the reason why no missionaries visited the place after Father Farmer's death. There was a time when the people of Macopin did not see a priest for twenty-five years. If a priest appeared, he departed in thirty-six hours. And so it was that the young people remained without instruction. On the way back, I resolved that this should not deter me from taking care of this neglected flock hereafter. I will do my best to remove the existing evils. I therefore again made my way there in 1840. Before my departure, I sent thither a chest of provisions. On the way, I paid a visit to the companion of my last year's expedition, the schoolmaster, who, however, felt no desire to aid me in my labors. Now, I was in great trouble. Who, thought I, will serve Mass for me? No one knows how to serve Mass. However, I continued my journey in a coal wagon. At eleven o'clock at night we reached the foot of the mountain on which Macopin lies, where I found hospitality for the night with an Irish Catholic charcoal laborer. The following days, I performed my priestly functions.

In closing my missionary report, I beg your Grace to accept the assurance of my devoted homage.

Your devoted servant,

JOHANN RAFFEINER.¹

¹Translated from the reports of the Leopoldine Society, Heft xiv, page 60.

The second letter is to the Honorable John Schwartz, Consul General of the United States in Vienna, who seems also to have been active in the work of the Leopoldine Stiftung:

NEW YORK, June 11, 1845.

DEAR SIR:

During last Lent the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes received a chest from you, containing some prayer-books and a letter directed to me. I thank you very cordially and should have thanked you before had I had important news to report to you. But I have nothing noteworthy to write to you even now except that the three Catholic churches burned down by the natives of Philadelphia have not yet been rebuilt.

Last week I returned from my visitation to every German parish in the diocese for the purpose of settling differences and becoming acquainted with the needs of various congregations.

I arrived in Albany, the first day after my departure from New York, where there is a German priest without a church, named Henry Schneider. The Right Reverend Bishop bought a plot of ground there for a church. Father Schneider takes the greatest pains to gather some money and promises to come to New York in four weeks to make a collection. I doubt his success because too many collectors come here. Bishops Quarter and Byrne are here for this purpose. The parish numbers one hundred and twenty families.

From Albany I proceeded to Utica. There is found a German congregation numbering eighty families. Father Schweninger of the convent of Fiecht in Tyrol is their pastor. He intends to enlarge his church and I think the flourishing congregation will succeed in doing so.

The following day I visited the newly built church of Father Inama at Salina; I found its outside completed. For this church I gave \$50 last winter and I still have the same sum for the same church; but some of the parishioners refused to deed the church to the Bishop and for that reason I kept my money. For if the Bishop does not own the church more mischief than good is done. I have also kept \$100, which the Bishop gave me for the church until the rebels will change their mind, which will be before long.

Having stayed two days at Syracuse, I started for Rochester. Here there are two German churches, one of them in charge of a Redemptorist, the other (St. Peter's) in charge of Rev.

Ivo Leviz, a Franciscan who was in Vienna two years ago. Seven weeks ago he suddenly left his congregation and intended to return to his monastery in consequence of improper treatment by his trustees. However, I persuaded him to stay at my church in Williamsburgh until I have returned from my visitation. At Rochester I invited the congregation to meet me on Sunday after Vespers, impressed upon them their unfortunate position, announcing to them that they would remain without a priest for a long time, that their church, already in debt to the amount of \$2,000, must of necessity accumulate greater and greater debts; that Christian education would be neglected and the like. I could give them no better advice than to ask Father Ivo Leviz not to abandon his flock. For in my opinion if he were requested to take in hand the administration of the church with the assistance of two witnesses instead of the trustees, he would agree to the proposal. On taking a vote, fifty-two favored and thirty-six opposed my suggestion. I announced this to Father Ivo and he returned to his flock. The following week I spent at Buffalo and the parishes in its neighborhood. In Buffalo I preached on Ascension Day in the German Catholic church which is 180 feet long and 80 feet wide. This church, dedicated to St. Louis, was under interdict for a whole year. In the last Synod it was resolved that hereafter no teacher, organist, singer or sexton could be appointed or dismissed without the consent of the pastor. One hundred and nine congregations submitted to this rule, only the German trustees of the Church of St. Louis rebelled. Our Bishop after repeatedly warning them finally interdicted them. When this proved unavailing, he built another church for the Germans. These thereupon thronged in crowds to the new church. When the trustees saw that their adherents became fewer and fewer daily, they agreed to do everything demanded of them. This and other curtailments of the powers of the trustees brought about the most salutary results. Most congregations have now turned over their churches to the Bishop. Of one hundred and ten churches only five retained their trustees.

Inasmuch as neither the congregation nor the government interferes with the control of the church, and the Gospel is free from all improper control and is growing more free, not only in New York but in all the United States, what growth may we not expect in God's Church, especially if the kind assistance of our Austrian brethren does not fail us.

According to the Almanac of 1837 there were twenty-six churches in our diocese in 1836. This month, after my return,

I counted one hundred and ten without counting the two churches that are being erected at present. Who will regret having erected this great temple of God with money or personally?

The honorable consul will please transmit the contents of the present letter to the Archbishop, for from his discourses I concluded that nothing would give him more pleasure than to learn of the progress of the Church. Please also inform the same that of the money sent to me, I gave \$50 to Father Inama and that he is to receive \$50 more; \$50 to Father Kunze in Bloomingdale (City of New York); \$60 to Father Varella for Transfiguration Church in New York; \$10 to Father Plathe for the church in Boston, and \$20 I mean to give to Father Schneider in Albany. I promised to give \$50 to Father Nöthen in Williamsville, who is preparing to build a new church in Lockport, and \$50 to Father Krämer in Lancaster for a new church.

Before closing this letter I have two requests to make. Do not forget, my Right Reverend Bishop, at the next distribution that he does much for the Germans, although he is building a large new church and seminary, and, secondly, do not forget to recommend me to all friends of the missions in your country whom I do not forget in my prayers.

I remain,

Your grateful servant,
 RAFFEINER, M.AP.,
 Vicar-General of the Germans
 in the diocese of New York.¹

The German Catholics on the West Side of New York were also encouraged to start a congregation by Father Raffener, and in 1840 St. John's, in West Thirtieth Street, was the result. In that year he returned to Europe for a visit and brought back with him to work on the mission a Capuchin, Father Ambrose Buchmeyer, from the diocese of Strigonia, Hungary. A German colony was then growing up across the East River in the village of Williamsburg, Long Island, where a number of workers in the rope-walks and some market gardeners had settled. Father Raffener resolved to resign the charge of St. Nicholas' parish and go over to Long Island to live with the Williamsburg colony. Bishop Hughes wished to

¹Translated from the reports of the Leopoldine Stiftung, Heft xix, page 62.

give the charge of St. Nicholas' to the Redemptorist Fathers he had invited to come to New York from Baltimore for that purpose. The lay trustees, however, in whose names the title to the property stood, refused to turn it over to the Bishop and a disagreeable quarrel ensued, the result of which was that the Redemptorists, under the direction of the Rev. Gabriel Rumppler, purchased ground in East Third Street, and there the church of Our Most Holy Redeemer was built. The lay trustees held on to the legal title to St. Nicholas' for seventy-five years—the last relic of an evil system—and it was only on March 29, 1908, that a parish meeting was held, and the formal resolution of the pewholders passed, to transfer the titles of the church property over to Archbishop Farley. The equity value of the church, rectory and school was then put at \$225,000.

Father Raffeiner made his change to Williamsburg in the early summer of 1841. With his own money he purchased a part of the farm of Abraham Meserole, on the summit of a hill that sloped toward Ewen Street and the present Montrose Avenue, both of which streets were not then cut through. Here he started a little frame church, the cornerstone of which Bishop Hughes laid on July 9, 1841. The finished building cost \$3,000 and was dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity on October 10, 1841. Besides the church a house for the pastor was built. Additions were afterward made to this property, that part in the rear, on Graham and Montrose Avenues, being used as a cemetery. On November 9, 1843, Bishop Hughes appointed Father Raffeiner his vicar-general for the Germans of the diocese, an office in which he was continued for Brooklyn when that diocese was established, and which he held until his death. By 1853 the congregation had so increased that a new church and school had to be provided. Several acres of ground adjoining the Evergreen Cemetery were bought and the bodies of the deceased members of the parish buried in the churchyard were transferred there. The old hill was levelled and a new brick church started, the cornerstone of which Archbishop Hughes also laid on June 29, 1853.

In this year the Sisters of St. Dominic came into the parish

from Ratisbon, Bavaria, by a singular series of accidents. Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., of St. Vincent's, Beatty, Pennsylvania, had a relative, Sister Elizabeth Kissel, in the Dominican Convent of the Holy Cross, at Ratisbon. During several visits he made there he excited the zeal of the nuns by his recital of how pressing was the need for teachers among the schools for German Catholic children in the United States. He promised his aid if the prioress, Mother Benedicta Bauer, would send over some of her Sisters to start an American foundation. After long deliberation it was determined to make the venture, and on July 25, 1853, Sister Josepha Witzelhofer and Sister Augustina Neuherl with two lay-Sisters, Francisca Roetter and Jacobina Riederer, left Ratisbon for New York. Their passage money was donated by the Ludwig Mission Society, and the convent itself gave them \$1,500 and the outfit necessary for the new American house. They reached New York, August 26, 1853, expecting to have Abbot Wimmer meet them and conduct them to Carrollton, Maryland, where they intended to locate. No one, however, was at hand to receive them when they landed and in their plight they applied for help to the New York Redemptorists, to whom they had letters. Through Father Kleineidam, Sisters Josepha and Augustina found shelter with the Ziegler family in New York, and the two lay-Sisters were sent to another charitable family in Newark, N. J. Father Raffeiner, soon after, hearing of their troubles invited them to locate in Brooklyn and take charge of his schools. They accepted his offer and arrived in Brooklyn, September 2, 1853. The foundation there was begun with Sister Josepha as the Superior. The Sisters at first had to live in a part of the school-house which was not even weather-proof, and from the hardships they had to endure all were made sick. Help came from Bishop Loughlin later and a house for their use was purchased and the Convent of the Holy Cross established. Three more Sisters, Michaela Braun, Seraphina Stainer and Emilia Barth came over from Ratisbon, on May 8, 1855, and the community was then permanently settled. Renewed interest in their work being aroused in Ratisbon,

King Ludwig of Bavaria sent them \$2,160 and the Ludwig Mission Society gave them an annual appropriation of \$540 for five years. From this humble beginning has grown the great community of nearly six hundred Dominican Sisters who have charge now of 36 schools, 2 academies, 6 orphanages, 2 hospitals, a sanitarium, a training school and an infirmary.

The dedication of the second Holy Trinity Church took place on February 28, 1854, Bishop Loughlin officiating. It was thought then that it would serve all parish purposes for a century, but it, too, had to give way for a third and more splendid Gothic edifice on an adjoining site, which was dedicated by Bishop Loughlin on August 23, 1885, and consecrated by Bishop Wigger on September 29, 1891. In October of the same year, 1891, Holy Trinity, the mother church of Catholic German Brooklyn, celebrated its golden jubilee with a three days' festival of ecclesiastical and civic rejoicing.

Besides the Holy Trinity Father Raffener was instrumental in building eight other Brooklyn churches, namely: St. Francis-in-the-Field, 1850; St. Benedict's, 1853; St. Boniface's, 1854; St. Mary's, Winfield, 1855; St. Boniface's, Foster's Meadow, 1860; St. Michael's, East New York, 1860 and St. Margaret's, Middle Village. These, with churches he started in New York State, and during his missionary rounds elsewhere, bring the number up to thirty. St. Francis-in-the-Field was the first German Catholic church within the limits of the old city of Brooklyn. It was located on Putnam Avenue, near Bedford Avenue and, as its name indicates, its surroundings were rural; Father Raffener built it with his own money, the cost being \$3,000. It was a rambling two story building which was to serve as a preparatory seminary as well as a church. Its first pastor was the Rev. Maurus Ramsauer, a Benedictine who came from Europe to help Father Raffener in 1850. He had charge for a year and then went to organize St. Boniface's congregation. His successor at St. Francis' was the Rev. Bonaventure Keller, and under him the school was started with some twenty pupils, seven of whom were boarders. This was Brooklyn's first seminary, and it lasted two years. St. Francis' was used as a

chapel for the Catholics living near it until 1888, its most famous rector being the Rev. Nicholas Balleis, O.S.B. After his death it remained closed for some time and was bought by the Sisters of the Precious Blood from the Holy Trinity Orphan Asylum, to which institution Father Raffener had willed it. It was then torn down and on the site a convent was erected, which was occupied by the Sisters of the Precious Blood in May, 1894. These Sisters remained there until 1909 when they moved to a new convent in Bay Ridge, and the old building on the St. Francis' site was sold, in 1915, to be replaced by residences.

With energy and zeal, Father Raffener continued to direct the affairs of the Holy Trinity parish, which had grown to the number of about ten thousand souls settled in the neighborhood of the church, until the very last. Full of years and honors he died on the night of July 16, 1861. His funeral took place on July 19th amid the general mourning of the entire eastern section of Brooklyn. Bishop Loughlin celebrated the Requiem Mass and Archbishop Hughes preached the panegyric.

"Many of you," said the Archbishop, "have no recollection of the spiritual destitution that prevailed in New York when the now populous dioceses of Brooklyn, New York, Buffalo, Albany, and Newark were comprised in one. The German Catholics were then but few and totally devoid of spiritual aid. It was the good providence of God that at this particular time directed the steps of Father Raffener hither, where he entered most faithfully and earnestly on the work assigned him in supplying spiritual comfort to his needy countrymen. He was made the coadjutor of my immediate predecessor, the lamented Bishop Dubois, and vested with the care and responsibility of attending to the spiritual wants of the German Catholics of the diocese. In justice to him I must say that wherever there were German Catholics there would Father Raffener seek them out and minister to them, being prevented neither by the winter's snows, the summer's sun, nor the inconveniences of travel in that day, from fulfilling the duties assigned him. I can not give you now a list of the churches he has founded all over this section of the State. I need not refer, of course, to what

he has done here because you know as well as I do what were his labors among you and how grand the success that followed them. He commenced, I believe, the first German church in the then large diocese of New York. It was in this city that Father Raffener saw clearly that there would ultimately be a very large German population, and he asked permission to minister to its spiritual wants. This was then but a mere village, unbuilt and unimproved. Hither he transferred himself, having obtained the proper authority from the bishop, and commenced his labor of love. I need not say with how much success his labors were attended; but I must say that bishops, priests and people have reason to remember Father Raffener for many years to come. I have been particularly benefited by his counsel during my administration of the affairs of the diocese before Brooklyn was made a separate and independent bishopric, and have often had to admire the zeal and energy with which he prosecuted his labors. We did not always agree in the details of the course to be pursued, it is true, but his large experience was beneficial to me, while his humility and zeal helped me. He was indeed a model for the priesthood, and by him I was guided in all matters pertaining to the advancement of Catholicism among the Germans of the diocese."

He was buried in the cemetery he had laid out for the Holy Trinity congregation, and his was the only stone monument within its limits. To insure uniformity and humility in its memorials, a rule was made at its opening that the cemetery should have only wood or iron monuments. In Father Raffener's case the exception to this rule was made. His body, however, was disinterred after the death in 1895 of his protégé and successor as rector of Holy Trinity, the Right Reverend Mgr. Michael May, V.G., and both rest under the altar of the church over whose destinies both presided so long and so successfully.

Mgr. May was born in Waldthurn, Bavaria, June 2, 1826, and was ordained priest July 16, 1851. He came to Brooklyn to assist Father Raffener in 1859, and was made pastor of Holy Trinity when its founder died in 1861. In 1875 Bishop Loughlin appointed him his vicar-general and he was the administrator of the diocese when that prelate died. Bishop Mc-

Donnell reappointed him vicar-general, and in August, 1893, he was made a domestic prelate by the Pope. He died February 11, 1895. During his incumbency as rector Mgr. May built the third Holy Trinity Church, St. Catharine's Hospital, the Orphan Asylum of the parish and its school-house and thirteen German churches in various parts of the diocese.

The immense and valuable church foundation that grew up under the direction of these two men was an example of self-sustaining German thrift and the united efforts of pastor and people directed to one end. In recent years a great change, social as well as material, has come over this old parish.

REV. IVO LEVIZ, O.F.M.

BY REV. J. L. ZAPLOTNIK

The Rev. Ivo Leviz (also Levitz or Levec) was born in Mannsburg in the Austrian crownland, Carniolia, July 30, 1790. After finishing his common school education he entered the gymnasium of Laibach. Austria was then passing through a stormy period and Carniolia was occupied for several years by the French under Napoleon. Having completed his classical studies, he entered the Order of St. Francis, and received the habit, March 29, 1813. He took the solemn vows of his Order a year later, and was ordained a priest, September 22, 1816. For some years after his ordination he labored as assistant in the Franciscan parish at Laibach, and then he taught in different schools of his province, for he was an excellent teacher, as is clear from his certificates. March 10, 1819, he was appointed second teacher in the main school of Rudolfs-wert, and September 24, 1833, professor of general history in Gorizia, or Goertz.

In the meantime, Father Leviz heard and read "how great was the harvest in America and how few were the laborers." Consequently he began to feel a desire to go to New York "to contribute his share in spreading and establishing the only true Faith." For this purpose he obtained the necessary permissions from the Archbishop of Gorizia and the Provincial of his Order, in the spring of 1834; but the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome ordered him, instead, to repair to Constantinople to take charge of the mission there. In obedience to this order he left for the capital of Turkey in July, 1835, and labored there zealously for about a year. Then he returned to his native country and was elected secretary of his province by the provincial chapter. At the same time he acted also as preacher and professor of philosophy in Gorizia.

But his ardent desire to go to America revived. After re-

peated efforts, he finally, in the spring of 1839, secured the necessary permission from his religious superiors, and an appointment for the diocese of Philadelphia from the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. On August 7, 1839, he took out his passport, left Gorizia, and embarked for America by way of Trieste.

Arriving in Philadelphia, his new Ordinary sent him to Erie, Pennsylvania, which at that time belonged to the Philadelphia diocese. His missionary field was very extensive, comprising nearly all the territory of the present Erie diocese. The Catholic population was not great, considering the extent of this territory; yet it was steadily increasing on account of the immigration of many Germans from Europe. In the city of Erie where he resided, he had charge of a numerous German congregation, for whom he built a neat frame church, which was dedicated in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia in the summer of 1840. At stated intervals Father Leviz visited Elk Creek, Francolini (now Frenchtown), Meadville, Shippensburg, and other missions and stations of his district. Here he built several churches and chapels.

Toward the end of the spring of 1841, he left western Pennsylvania, and went to New York City, where he acted first as assistant in the German parish of St. Nicholas, and about November 1st of that year, was made pastor. The extent of the parish is evident from the fact that it numbered 389 baptisms and 72 marriages in 1842. He had therefore plenty of work to do, particularly with the school children, for he was alone most of the time, except for the first four months of 1842, when he was assisted by the afterward well-known Indian missionary, Rev. Otto Skolla. In August of that year when the bishop wished to transfer the parish of St. Nicholas to the Redemptorist Fathers, Father Leviz set out on a visit to his old home, Laibach, Vienna, and other places of interest.

Returning to America, he was sent by Bishop Hughes to Rochester, New York, to take charge of the German congregation of St. Peter, as its first resident pastor. This parish was

founded in 1842 in the western section of the city, and a moderately large frame church was erected. The basement, which was made of stone, served the double purpose of school-rooms and parochial residence, although the latter portion was not yet completed. The congregation, which consisted only of poor workmen, was heavily in debt. In addition to that, it was harassed by discords and factions, kept up by certain elements in the parish. Nevertheless, having arrived in Rochester in April, 1843, Father Leviz bravely set about his work. He adorned and furnished the church with all things necessary, and, authorized by the bishop, he blessed it in honor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, June 29, 1843. He also completed the parochial residence in the basement of the church and considerably lowered the debt, thus securing for the congregation its further existence. In spite of his unselfish efforts, however, he encountered considerable trouble, created principally by the trustees of the congregation on account of the administration of church property. For this reason he left Rochester in the spring of 1845, and labored for a while in the parish of the Most Holy Trinity, in the town of Williamsburg, Long Island (now a part of Brooklyn), till he was again recalled to Rochester. How long he remained there I was unable to ascertain. It must have been altogether about three years, for at the end of May, 1846, he was no longer there. No doubt he gladly resigned his charge and returned to his native land with the intention of spending his remaining days in Laibach, Austria. However, his stay was short, for in September, 1847, he again set out for America.

He joined the Philadelphia diocese and was sent by Bishop Kenrick to Holmesburg, near Philadelphia, as chaplain of the newly established convent of the Sacred Heart, at Eden Hall. He acted there also as catechist in the academy of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and attended to the spiritual wants of the Catholic settlers in the neighborhood, as is evident from the records kept in the convent.

From the beginning of June, 1849, to the middle of September, 1850, he had charge of St. Mary's Church at Lebanon,

Pa., being its first resident pastor. The congregation originally consisted of German-Americans; then it comprised also some German and Irish immigrants. The present pastor of St. Mary's judges from the manner in which Father Leviz kept the church records that he must have been an exemplary priest. His memory is still cherished by a few old members of the parish who had the honor of knowing him personally.

About this time, however, Father Leviz began to feel that he was no longer able to do full justice to his many duties, for his health began rapidly to decline. He had never enjoyed perfectly good health and moreover he was now well on in years. Hence he resolved to bid good-by to America. About the middle of September, 1850, he set out for the land of his birth, arriving there in 1851. He was again received into his old province and sent to the quiet and beautifully located monastery of Nazareth in Lower Styria, to regain his shattered health. He never recovered, however, for some months later he died there, on October 14, 1853.

REVEREND SIMON FOUCHÉ, S.J.

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.

Among the members of the faculty of St. Francis Xavier's College, New York, about the year 1857, there was a modest but distinguished and refined looking gentleman of middle stature, who without coming in frequent contact with the student body nevertheless was watched with extraordinary attention by the elder boys. He had come to St. Francis Xavier's from St. John's, Fordham, where since the latter forties he had been treasurer and had enjoyed great popularity. Like most of the Jesuit Fathers, before coming to Fordham he had been stationed in Kentucky whither he had been sent after making his novitiate, at Georgetown, in 1833. He was a secular priest when he became a novice, and was one of the Jesuit band who had answered Bishop Hughes' call to take charge of St. John's College, in 1846. A few of the boys made bold to inquire who the interesting looking man was. The answer came that he was a Frenchman, the treasurer and the librarian of the Fathers' library. As such he had very little to do with the students. But there was another reason why he was more of a stranger with us than the other professors. We were told that he was very hard of hearing, almost deaf. Whether it was this that gave to his face a somewhat melancholy expression, we were not psychologists enough to judge. At all events aside from the seriousness everything in the little man was attractive. A fine forehead, mild blue eyes and a confidence-inspiring countenance promised a gentle, kindly disposition. Now and then he broke the reserve which his deafness imposed upon him, and we saw him making up a team of baseball players along with Mr. Shea and some of the students. When on vacation Saturday we went to the Sodality meeting, which was followed by social amusements, we soon learned the fact that our interesting librarian was a chess player. But only our best

champions had the privilege of being thrashed by him. He was nearly seventy years of age, having been born in Paris in 1789. His name was Father Simon Fouché, a name that did not inspire confidence in young fellows who had just studied the history of the French Revolution. But the entire make-up of Father Simon dispelled any thought of associating him with the revolutionary regicide. Before long, however, we became somewhat more acquainted with his history, and we learned that Father Fouché's family during the Reign of Terror dwelt in Paris, though the dear old Father himself must have been merely a boy in those years. What we knew of the old gentleman inspired us with a desire to know more, and one day we prevailed on our professor, Mr. Shea, to give us some detail of Father Fouché's history. It made a deep impression upon me, and I not only repeated it to my father but also to my children many years afterward.

Father Fouché's family, Mr. Shea told us, came from Orléans and resided at Paris at the time of the Terror. As our readers will learn, the Fouchés were well acquainted with some of the most distinguished families of Paris, bourgeois and noble, such as the family of the subsequent Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quélen and the family of the Duc de Chimay. In the year 1793 besides the father and the children, an aunt was a member of the family, a determined, plucky woman. The family had most decided Royalist leanings and were sturdy, upright Catholics. These were the days when priests were ordered to take the oath to the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy, an instrument which aimed to make them false to their vows and to deprive the Supreme Pontiff of his rights, imprisonment and death being the penalties which threatened the priests who refused to take the oath. Many of the clergy had fled the country and a few were in hiding. To conceal and entertain such loyal priests required courage, not to say daring. Now the Fouchés and especially the aunt were persons of great pluck, and, in spite of the danger to which they exposed themselves, they welcomed in their home one of these loyal non-juring priests, the Abbé Magnin, who subsequently visited Marie An-

toinette in her prison. While this abbé stayed at the house of the Fouchés in the character of a valet, the revolutionary authorities got wind of the fact that the family was hiding a priest and gave orders to search the house for him. Mlle. Fouché, the aunt, learned of the approaching search. She did not lose her nerve even for a single moment. It was not in her power to smuggle the abbé out of the house, and being a woman of daring, thought the boldest way to meet the danger was the safest. The abbé was therefore told to assemble with the family, and to be careful not to attract suspicion by any act not becoming a servant. The revolutionary *mouchards* showed up at the time they were expected. The family and servants were assembled and reviewed, and no suspicious character was found. Then the detectives began to search the house from roof to cellar, but were no more successful than before. When the inquisition was almost at its end, the Abbé Magnin, who had been entrusted with a candle to help investigating the more obscure corners, made an imprudent remark that might kindle suspicion in the minds of the officials. Any other woman might be dismayed, but Mlle. Fouché was equal to the occasion. She gave the abbé a sounding slap on the cheek, telling him to mind his own business. The ruse was successful. The officers' attention was distracted from the impertinent servant, and a few minutes afterward they left the house profusely thanking the amiable mademoiselle. Father Fouché was even more respected by us when we knew that he was the nephew of this plucky and cunning heroine.

A year or two later, I was appointed one of the instructors at St. Francis Xavier's. Naturally I became better acquainted with the Fathers who taught in the college in those days. One of my most cherished friends was Father Francis Monroe, the story of whose career I may be tempted to tell on another occasion. It suffices to say here that Father, or, as we all called him, Captain Monroe, was the best chess player in the faculty. Kindhearted and noble gentleman as he was, he often helped Father Fouché to pass the weary hours of advancing age by

playing chess with him. He also asked me, whom he sometimes challenged to a match, to play a game with the dear Father. Thus I came into personal contact with the old man and regarded him with genuine affection. The hand of age was fixed upon him more and more and his superiors thought that Fordham would be better suited to his declining years than the city. Accordingly he was transferred to St. John's where he died on June 29, 1870.

Meantime the years flew by. I left St. Francis Xavier's, got married and as my children grew up, now and then spoke to them about the interesting gentlemen I had met at my old Alma Mater. Of course, I did not forget Father Fouché, although I never thought that the time would come when Father Shea's tale would receive a new interest. Many years after my good old professor's death, as I was reading in 1907 or 1908 the London *Athenæum*, my attention was arrested by a critique of the translation of a new work on Marie Antoinette, by the French historian, Monsieur G. Lenôtre. As I had throughout life taken an intense interest in the unfortunate Queen of France, I read the critique with great sympathy and to my astonishment I found that in the book, M. Lenôtre gave a letter of Father Simon Fouché, S.J., written in the year 1864, about the very time I had played chess with the old gentleman. The letter, I learned from the *Athenæum*, dealt with the visit of the Abbé Magnin to the Queen in the Conciergerie. I sent for the book and found the letter. Here it is:

I knew M. Charles Magnin very intimately. During the Revolution of '89 he took refuge with the Demoiselles Fouchés, my father's sisters; and from that time forward he never left them. Indeed I had been taught, when staying with my aunts, to call him uncle. This was a stratagem intended to avert suspicion. I have several times heard Mlle. Fouché, the elder of the two sisters, relate how she had managed to get into the Conciergerie. She was received by the Queen with an icy coldness that is easily accounted for. The things she had brought with her (stockings, linen, food) to give to the Queen had no more favorable effect. She even went so far as to eat a piece of bread-and-jam in order to do away with any idea of her inten-

tions being sinister. As all her efforts failed she felt she must adopt some more persuasive means.

"Madame," she said to the Queen, "the state of public opinion is such that it is impossible for you any longer to entertain the least hope. Religion alone can give you its final consolation, and it is in order to procure this for you that I have dared to come to you. If you accept my suggestion I am confident of being able to put you in touch with a non-juring Catholic priest. If your Majesty will deign to answer me I will neglect nothing in my efforts to serve you."

The effect of these words was immediate. The Queen threw herself into my aunt's arms, embraced her tenderly, and expressing her gratitude declared that her desire was to realize these promises.

S. FOUCHÉ, S.J.

According to his son's statement made to M. Maxime de la Rocheterie in 1870, the Court de Robiano took down the testimony of the Abbé Magnin and of Mlle. Fouché separately and based his version of the story on them. We may add that the reports of the abbé and of Mlle. Fouché were corroborated by various other persons, as M. Lenôtre informs us. We give the substance of the tale. Mlle. Fouché, a native of Orléans in 1793, lived in Paris, and with several other ladies made it her duty to visit the various prisons of Paris for the purpose of bringing help and consolation to the unfortunate victims confined. The Abbé Magnin, a friend of Mlle. Fouché, also devoted himself to this heroic work of charity. Some time about the middle of the year 1793, the lady conceived the idea of penetrating into the prison of Marie Antoinette, who was in daily expectation of being haled before the revolutionary tribunal. She was acquainted with M. Richard, the jailer of the Conciergerie where the Queen was confined. She succeeded in inducing him to admit her and the Abbé Magnin to the prison between twelve and one o'clock on a night when the Queen was watched by two gendarmes favorably disposed to Richard. On being admitted, the Queen, who owing to the constant attempt of spies to bring further trouble upon her dared hardly trust any one, was at first very reserved to Mlle. Fouché. When the

latter, however, declared to the noble prisoner that her affairs were desperate, that she had better prepare for the worst and that she was ready to bring a non-juring clergyman to enable her to do so, Marie Antoinette changed her attitude. She thanked her visitor and embraced her and agreed to see the priest when the lady would visit her for the third time. At the same time, Mlle. Fouché pledged herself that should the priest be unacceptable to her, he should depart forthwith.

This plan was carried out. The Queen welcomed the Abbé Magnin and conversed with him for an hour and a half not without shedding many tears. Magnin, it was agreed should henceforth accompany Mlle. Fouché whenever she called upon the Queen. The jailer permitted the couple to visit the royal prisoner whenever the kindly gendarmes were on watch and in due course of time the Abbé, who during these stormy days always carried the Blessed Sacrament with him in a pyx, gave her Communion. Father Fouché's aunt, of course, made known her visit to the Queen to a few of her most intimate friends, among them to Mme. de Quélen, mother of the future Archbishop of Paris. The object of this was to provide the Queen with necessary underclothing, the brutality of the Terrorists having led them to supply her with the coarsest of underwear. Shoes and a silk gown, though the Queen wore a ragged dress and her shoes did not protect her against the moisture of the prison, were left unchanged through fear of rousing the suspicions of the *Sans-culottes*. The Sisters of La Charité Saint-Roch, however, furnished new silk stockings to the Queen by which her corpse was later identified. Arrangements were made with the baker to supply rye-bread to the Queen who preferred it to wheaten bread. When offered writing materials, the Queen declined them because they might imperil her good friends. But she placed in Mlle. Fouché's hands a porcelain cup, mounted in silver in a little box, her only possession. This she was to deliver to the Queen's daughter if possible. If not, to keep it herself. In 1804 the Princess of Tarento, after consulting with the Princess de Chimay and the Countess Golowkin, brought the cup to the Duchess of Angoulême at Mittau in

Russia, and Louis XVI's daughter expressed her thanks to Mlle. Fouché in a letter which was greatly valued by the lady.

Owing to the discovery by the government commissioner of an attempt to communicate with the Queen, Richard was about this time removed from his position and replaced by M. Bault, who had hitherto had charge of the prison of La Force. Fortunately, the latter was known to Mlle. Fouché to be a kind and sympathetic man who permitted the lady and the abbé to continue her visits to the Queen. They even induced the kind jailer after some hesitation to procure for the Queen the privilege of hearing Mass in her cell. The priest brought all the things necessary for Mass in a small hand-bag and the jailer contributed two candles. It is needless to say that Marie Antoinette greatly valued this high privilege.

Meantime the day of fate was approaching for the Queen when unfortunately the Abbé Magnin fell ill so as to be confined to his bed. But Mlle. Fouché did not desert the Queen. She brought another priest named Cholet twice to the Conciergerie, the last time on October 16, 1793, three days before the Queen's execution. After the Restoration, Louis XVIII and the royal family showed their gratitude in various ways to the aunt of Father Fouché. Of course, had the boys of St. Francis Xavier's in 1857 known the details of this story, it would have enhanced tenfold their interest in good old Father Fouché.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE URSULINE CONVENT AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

LETTER OF THE RIGHT REVEREND BENEDICT FENWICK, D.D.

Boston, February 10, 1837.

REVEREND MOTHER:

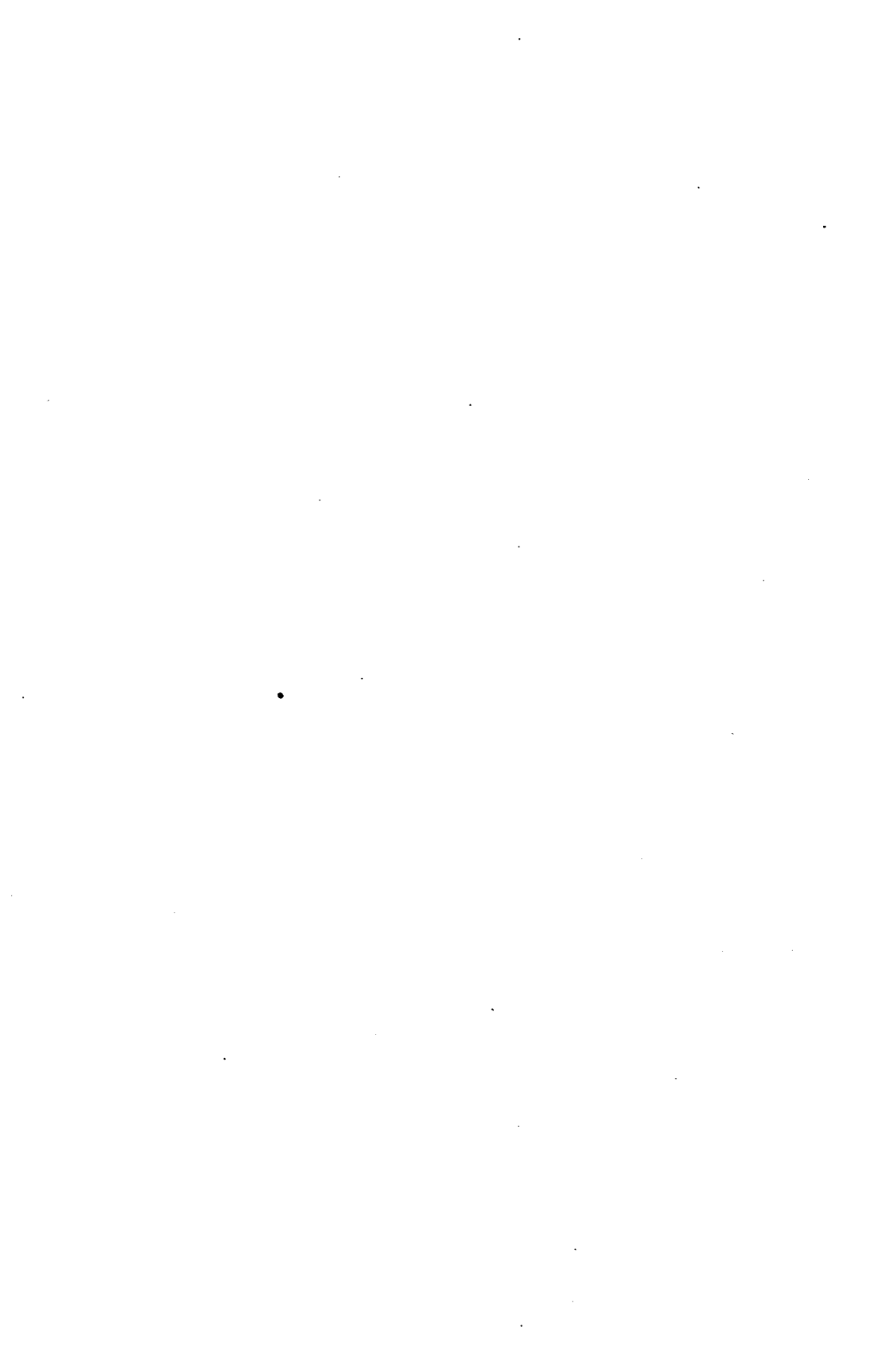
Your letter of July 2, 1835, to the Ursulines, whose house was formerly near the city, came too late to reach them here. On account of the destruction of their convent, on August 11, 1834, by a rabid band of godless Protestants, who bitterly hated their religion and envied the success of their institution, they were forced temporarily to leave this city and take refuge in Canada. Six of them still dwell in Quebec with their hospitable sisters. After their expulsion from their peaceful convent these ladies received them in their home in the most affectionate manner. In the absence of these pious women whose loss I deplore along with all good Catholics, I have resolved to answer the inquiries contained in your kind letter.

The Ursulines were admitted into this diocese in 1820 by my predecessor, the Venerable Cardinal Cheverus. At first they numbered only three. They owned a small house near my cathedral. The same had been purchased for their use with the money collected in Ireland by a pious and respected clergyman. In this modest home they remained until 1825 devoting themselves to the education of the poor girls of the diocese. In 1825 by the grace of God and the appointment of His Holiness Leo XII, I was named Bishop of Boston. When on my arrival here I took charge of the diocese and visited the modest home of our Ursulines, I became convinced that their accommodations were too small and inconvenient. They had not even a small yard in which to take fresh air. It was plain that if they stayed in their old house their health must inevitably suffer. I therefore suggested to them that it would be wiser to sell the house and with the money accruing to buy a new site in the suburbs where, with the help of God, they could build a more suitable residence. They might then open a boarding school

and thus extend the sphere of their usefulness. At this time the community numbered six members, four choir and two lay Sisters. My suggestion was accepted by them with pleasure. They therefore requested me to look out for a convenient site. A year passed before I could find a suitable plot. Finally I was offered a very desirable place which I immediately bought for \$6,000. It is a beautiful height containing about twenty-five acres of fertile ground lying about half a mile outside of the city. It has one of the most beautiful views near by. I made the arrangements to erect a becoming building. In a year and a half the edifice was completed. It was one hundred feet in length and thirty feet deep besides two wings forty feet long erected later on. The convent was three stories high. It was quite sufficient to accommodate twenty-five Sisters and one hundred pupils. The Sisters soon afterward moved in and opened their school. After some months the daughters of the most respectable and best families in Boston and its neighborhood, both Catholic and Protestant, filled its classes. After that our good Ursulines continued their beneficent work without interruption. They encouraged their neighbors by their example and virtue and devoted themselves to the education of the young ladies with zeal and perseverance. The convent soon had the reputation of an excellent institution of learning and naturally won the patronage of all local Protestants. Before long, the preachers began violently to attack the schools and thereby stirred up the bitter prejudice of their congregations. They declared that the convent would make Catholics of their children if they tolerated its continued existence. Such and similar remarks about priests and nuns were constantly repeated before their credulous hearers. At last on the night of August 11, 1834, a great mob of the lowest rabble gathered before the convent, set it on fire while threatening the peaceable inmates, amidst disorder and howls and destroyed the entire building with all its contents. Besides several novices, eight Sisters and seventy scholars were in the convent. All rushed to the garden and spent the entire night in the open air. The next day the Sisters found refuge in the homes of various promi-



RIGHT REVEREND BENEDICT JOSEPH FENWICK, D.D.
(After the portrait at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.)



ment citizens and the children went to their friends and parents in the city. During these disgraceful scenes, one of the Sisters was seriously ill and shortly after died in consequence of the shock. This horrible deed of violence called forth indignation everywhere. But it was an accomplished fact and no restitution was made. A few scoundrels who had been accomplices in the devilish outrage, it is true, were arrested and brought into court. But, as might be expected, all but one were acquitted owing to the influence of their friends and backers and because of the partiality of the Protestant judges. The person convicted, as if in derision, was a boy sixteen years of age, who shortly after was pardoned on the petition of the Catholics.

Meantime the Sisters were without a home and without garments. Everything had perished with their convent. For a time, so far as my means allowed, I provided them with what was most necessary and when my resources were exhausted I was obliged to take them to Canada. As stated above, they found protection and quiet with their sisters in Quebec while waiting for the restoration of their property. But when will this hope be fulfilled? I hardly expect it unless some charitable hand offers the necessary means. Otherwise many years must pass before we can erect another such edifice. The beautiful country seat may be seen amid the ruins of the convent. Last year, I built at my own expense a little home for a gardener to take care and protect the property. Truly the loss suffered by our religion in consequence of the destruction of this fine Ursuline convent is very great. We shall feel this loss for a long time still, until another convent shall be built for the education of our Catholic young ladies. May Almighty God soon send us the necessary help.

This is the sad story which I send you in answer to your inquiry. I will communicate without delay to our beloved Ursuline Sisters the contents of your letter and feel certain that your Sisters in Quebec will promptly accept your invitation to join in your prayers for the deceased of both communities.

Since the foundation of the Boston convent, six Ursulines

have passed away and been replaced by other nuns. The six Sisters still living have firmly resolved to continue in their vocation with spirit and zeal as soon as God will be pleased to send us the assistance needed.

In the hope that this may soon take place and commending myself to the prayers of your Sisterhood, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

BENEDICT FENWICK,

Bishop of Boston.

P.S. The Reverend Mother Superior is requested after reading this letter to send a copy to the Most Rev. Prince Archbishop of Prague. We also beg her to send a copy to the Most Rev. Prince Archbishop of Vienna and the Leopoldine Society and to recommend us to them and their flock. This noble Leopoldine Society has conferred so many great benefits on North America and we are hopeful that they will add a new benefaction to all the good they have done, especially as their aid is needed above all in our diocese.

The above letter of the Bishop of Boston reached the Reverend Mother Superior of the Ursulines at Prague along with the subjoined letter of the Reverend Father Freygang:

REVEREND MOTHER:

I had the pleasure of writing the above letter to you in the German language at the request of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Boston. Moreover, I add an appeal that you give some assistance to your unfortunate sisters in the Western Hemisphere. While a student, I often visited your church and your convent; however, you will hardly remember my name.

I have devoted myself to the missions of North America and was ordained this year by the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Boston. I live in his house and he has entrusted to me the German congregation here.

I recommend the unfortunate Sisters to your prayers.

Most respectfully,

JOSEPH EDWARD FREYGANG, M.Ap.,

Pastor.¹

¹Translated from the "Leopoldine Report," Heft xi, p. 44 ff.

A PICTURE OF NEW MEXICO IN 1681

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR AUGUST RUPP

In Volume I of the *Neue Welt-Bott* is printed the following letter of Father Joannis Ratkay, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, of the Austrian Province, to R. P. Nicolaus Avancinus, Provincial of the Society in charge of Austria and Hungary. It was written in the American Province of New Mexico on February 25, 1681:

REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST!

P. C.

Praised be the infinite mercy of God, who not only has graciously granted my long cherished desire to spread His name among the heathens, but, under the guidance of His invisible angel, has miraculously brought me to my destination, where, as your Reverence will readily perceive from this letter, I have every opportunity to exercise my ardent zeal.

I left the City of Mexico on the 17th of November, 1680, in company with his Reverence, Father Thomas de la Harza, at present rector of the College at Parras, being escorted as far as this place by a number of Indian bowmen to insure the safety of his journey. We did not stop anywhere, but traveled so rapidly that we covered one hundred and eight miles in twenty days and arrived at the silver mines of Zakutekas on the 7th of December.

On the 8th of December we resumed our journey and on the 14th arrived safely at Guadiana, the capital of New Biscay, distant from Mexico one hundred and seventy-three miles, from Zakutekas, sixty-five. Thus far no misfortune had befallen me, for the Indians inhabiting this region do not make a practice of lying in wait for travelers, but there are some deserters from the Spanish forces, runaway servants and bandits, who, in their desperation, have recourse to murder and robbery. Since the Indians to the north of Guadiana are much more savage, and the

danger is in consequence much greater, I remained here until the latter part of December, in order that the Spanish soldiers, scattered in the various fortresses, might furnish me with a sufficient military escort. My entire outfit consisted of two servants and two mules, one of which bore me, the other my chests and baggage.

After the Christmas holidays I set out in company with twenty armed men, and made such rapid progress that in the course of two days I covered thirty-six miles and arrived safely at the mission of St. Jacob of Papaskiaro, in the country of the Tepeguani. From this point I sent back my old escort, and awaited a new one. During the journey we found evidences of the recent presence of Indians, without, however, seeing anything of the Indians themselves; they had undoubtedly hidden themselves through fear of my small company of soldiers.

Under the protection of a fresh escort of armed men, I continued my journey through the country of the Tepeguani as far as Bocas which I reached, not without peril to my life, for on Sunday, between Bocas and Zape, we crossed a hill, upon which on the preceding Wednesday five persons had been put to death by the savage Tobosi.

From Bocas to Parral, where the richest silver mines are located and beyond the latter place as far as Hucotislan the roads are so unsafe that men must travel either in companies and well armed or else by night. However, with the gracious aid of God, I succeeded in passing both these places without being attacked, and at length, on the 1st of February, for the first time greeted my Visitor, the Reverend Father Josephus Tarda, in his mission of St. Ignatius of Cojachri.

On the following day, the 2d of February, 1681, I journeyed to Ypomeran, which is not far distant from the Hobas and New Mexico. The original founders and still active propagators of these missions are our above mentioned Visitor, Father Tarda, and our Rector, Father Thomas Quadalaxára, both of whom lack naught but priests. The lack of these has compelled them to abandon thirteen missions, where the wild heathens of their own volition are asking in large numbers for teachers of

the Faith and the Holy Baptism. Who can describe the hardships that these missionaries endure, seeing that it is almost four hundred miles from Mexico to this place, a distance which it took me seventy days to travel? I say nothing of the constant danger of being robbed or murdered by Indians and bandits; nothing of the lack of proper food; nothing of the faithlessness of the escorts and servants, who often treacherously run away with the priest's mules and belongings and leave him alone to his own devices; nothing of the beasts of burden, which often go astray, fall or are stolen; nothing of the scarcity of water, whole days often passing without coming upon any; nothing of the lack of shelter, or the fact that in the months of December and January, in spite of the bitter cold, we often slept in the fields under the open sky and awoke in the morning covered with snow that had fallen during the night, and that at the same time, since nothing else could be obtained, we often had to be content with bread and water on fast days, generally with cheese and chocolate. And yet everything tasted well to us, for hunger, which proverbially is the best sauce, roused in us a hearty appetite, while the ardent longing to preach to the heathen made such abundant amends for the lack of better food that I arrived here in much more vigorous health than I enjoyed when I left Mexico.

As to the character of our missions, each includes two or three small tribes, which lie four, five and as much as ten miles apart; each of these missions is presided over by a single priest of our Order, who has to build his own church, rectory and garden, using bricks of clay and no mortar. He is assisted in this, however, by the Indians, whose help he obtains by telling them they are rendering a service to God. Cattle, beasts of burden and horses he has in plenty, and so when he is called to a sick person at a distance, it is customary for him to ride. Instead of windows they make openings in their buildings to let in the daylight; but to keep out the wind they cover them with bladders or linen.

Politeness, learning and baked bread are alike unknown to our Indians. Their food is Indian corn, which they roast at a

fire and eat while thoroughly warm. They have no fruit-bearing trees or shrubs except only those which our Fathers bring from Europe and plant here. For this reason they make no distinction between the different kinds of food, and if a missionary desires to have his meals properly cooked, he must at his own expense bring a Spanish cook from Mexico and pay him very high wages; and then it is a question whether any one will be willing to come; for, in view of the ever-present danger to life from the inhabitants of the country about New Mexico, scarcely any one is willing to risk so long a journey, especially since in the year just past thirty thousand Indians revolted here and during the uprising killed five hundred Spaniards, together with twenty-seven Franciscans, and by their cruelty threw every one into a state of fear.

As the raising of cattle is the chief source of wealth of the Spaniards in these regions, none of them is assured of his property, because the Indians make unexpected raids and drive off whole herds of cattle, mules, horses and donkeys, not only from the villages, but even from the cities; thus they recently stole from the citizens of Guadiana one thousand horses and mules. The inhabitants of this city of Guadiana at various times have festivals and bull-fights; to these they invite the missionaries, and in case of our presence, show us every honor.

The customs of the Indians are not the same everywhere, but vary markedly in different localities. The Indians in the neighborhood of Mexico are by nature lazy and so worthless that they serve and work for two-thirds less than a Spaniard. However, all Americans are alike in this; they can without trouble imitate with the hands anything that they have seen with their eyes, and from a little observation become artistic workmen. An Indian need observe but once or twice how the harp is played, and he will immediately be able to perform upon that instrument and in a short time perhaps excel his teacher. They are swarthy in complexion and go about almost naked; some, however, wear a loin-cloth, while others cover themselves only with a shaggy blanket, called *Kotze* (shaggy coverlet) in Austria, which they know how to weave themselves.

The Mexicans make a wine which they call *pulque*, from the leaves of a certain tree. This wine has a taste that to me is disgusting, but so agreeable to them, that they get drunk on it every Monday without fail, and boast that they drink themselves into this state by permission of the king, a privilege for which they pay a sum of money annually. However, I imagine that this is a penalty imposed for excesses of this kind previously committed rather than a license to sin paid for in advance.

They are so skilled in the use of bow and arrow that even from a considerable distance they can hit a ducat held between two fingers without injuring the hand. They dwell for the most part in the mountains, and in caves like wild animals, until they are tamed by our missionaries and induced to come into villages. There is one thing at which I am greatly astonished, namely the fact that so few people live in this North America. I have often traveled many miles and even several days at a time without meeting a single human being; those, however, whom I did meet in the wilderness were so terrified by our appearance that in their amazement they stood stock still before us like wooden statues, without uttering a word or making answer.

Many of them work in the silver and gold mines, of which there are many in this region, because forsooth it is in the bowels of these otherwise barren mountains that their fruits are kept. Of the product of these mines his Catholic Majesty receives into his exchequer only one-fifth, and yet has a yearly income therefrom of from five to six million Spanish dollars.

The mines belong to the person who first discovers them and takes upon himself the cost of working them. The richest silver mines are at Parral; others on the contrary are giving out, as those at Sombrerete, Zakatuas, Kanazabi and Indeke.

In this part of India there are five garrisons, whose duty it is to hold in check the Indians who are ever ready to revolt; these are the garrison at Cerregordo, consisting of thirty-five men; that at Saint Catharine, ten men; that of Saint Poelten, likewise ten men; that of Cinaloa, forty-six men; and that of

Parral, thirty men. Thus this whole vast tract of land is not only held in subjection but also protected against enemies from beyond its borders by one hundred and thirty-one men. From this circumstance I have reason to conclude that a general of the Holy Roman Empire with three thousand Germans and five hundred Croatian hussars would without trouble in a short time reduce to subjection (to Germany) the whole of this northern America as far as the 70th degree of north latitude. In this case everything would be safer and the Catholic religion could be much more rapidly advanced, while at present on the contrary we have to wink at many things. For some countries can be conquered more readily by a policy that combines fear with love than by love pure and simple, which alone can accomplish but little among the Indians, especially among the older people. On the other hand, fear must be aided by love and some bait must be offered these wild birds that they may be the more willing to be caught, by providing for them better dwellings, food and clothing, protecting them against their enemies, and making them content with their lot by means of useful laws.

All these extensive provinces are governed by the Spanish viceroy at Mexico as governor general, to whom both governments, those of New Biscay and New Galicia together with their presiding governors, owe blind obedience. On the other hand, the Kingdom of Mexico or New Spain itself is divided into twelve jurisdictions or audiences presided over with limited powers by the same number of magistrates whom the Spaniards call *auditores*.

The control of matters spiritual likewise has its proper form, with the Archbishop of Mexico at its head; subject to him are the Bishops of Engelstadt, of Machoaca or Quadalaxára and of New Biscay or of Guadiana, where his residence is. The Archbishop has a yearly income of not more than 25,000 dollars Spanish, the Bishop of Engelstadt on the other hand 80,000, he of Machoaca or Quadalaxára 4,000 and he of Guadiana 3,000. The last mentioned has control of all our missions and by his arbitrary management does more to hinder than to help them, for his aim, being the increase of his authority, he is naturally

somewhat jealous of us. The viceroy on the other hand has assured us of his own friendly disposition as well as of the favor of the king and added that his Catholic Majesty was inclined to increase the number of missions with further and larger gifts of alms. For this reason our Father Provincial has decided to call for seventy additional missionaries from Europe in order that the name of Christ Our Lord may be spread still further among the heathens. Although we are quite popular in Spain and at the Court of Madrid, we are nevertheless held in incomparably higher esteem in these Indies, where almost every one loves and cherishes us. Even those of the savage heathens who oppose the Spanish rule esteem us so highly that, although they kill without mercy the Spaniards composing the escort of one of our missionaries, should they surprise him on his journey, they conduct the priest to the nearest Spanish fortress or city and there dismiss him unharmed. The hostile Indians are called *Tschitschimeki* and *Topoki*; they resemble the devil rather than a human being, for they cut their beards and color their faces in the most horrible manner possible. They lie in wait for travelers in their caves, called devil's-dens by the Spaniards, attack them with a terrifying yell, and discharge each six arrows at their victim with such rapidity that before the traveler is able to look about him he has been struck several times; then they come to close quarters and after killing the men, slaughter the horses and mules which they eat half-roasted, blood and all, with great gusto. And so it is not surprising that a mule scents one of these *Tschitschimeki* a mile away, and runs off with bag and baggage over hill and dale with the speed of a chamois so that no one can possibly catch it again.

Other Indians on the contrary, especially the Tarahumares, are gentle and good-natured, also great lovers of trade, which is carried on not with money but by an exchange of wares, for every article that is offered them has a definite equivalent of exchange; thus the Indian gives the European two hens for a needle, two sheep or a wether for a small knife, a wether for a glass ornament for the ear, and the best horse for a yard of

cloth. But both these and other Indians are passionately devoted to witchcraft.

I saw nothing, therefore, during my journey that was noteworthy except a large comet, which appeared for the first time toward the end of November at four o'clock in the morning in the constellation of Virgo (*in Spica Virginis*), with a long tail extending toward the west. This tail was at first dark but grew brighter from day to day. The course of the star was from west to east, but so rapid that in the course of two days it was forty degrees farther toward the east and nearer the sun. After three or four weeks, when it had in the meanwhile traversed the lower hemisphere, it again became visible toward the west with a terrible tail that stretched over about fifty degrees. The body of the comet itself was very small and now took its course toward the west, while the tail for a time stretched toward the east and soon thereafter toward the north, until at length the star itself turned its course toward the north, its tail, however, toward the south, and was gradually lost to view. Its meaning I leave to God. However, I am very much afraid that this comet signifies nothing good for western Europe, that is, for the Spanish monarchy.

The most abundant harvest that we reap in these missions consists of the tender youth, whom we bring up in the Christian faith with industrious diligence, for we give instruction in the catechism for the children twice every day. They appear daily in our rectory and sing their prayers there. Their watchword is the following motto: "Praised be the Blessed Sacrament and the Immaculate Virgin." These words they repeat after the instruction in the catechism and likewise in the morning upon rising, at twilight when they bring the light into the room and in the evening when they go to sleep. Divine service is held diligently, the holy sacraments are administered, at certain times High Masses are sung. Many baptized children die in their first innocence.

As I am writing this the joyful news is brought that some of our priests, through a desire to preach the Gospel to these heathens, are going to undertake a religious expedition, three

into California and others into New Mexico. Just as I have earnestly offered myself to my superiors for such new colonies, so it is my one wish that they may soon grant my request that I may thus dedicate myself wholly as a sacrifice to my God and make His Name known to nations who have not yet heard of Him. This is my sole desire; this, in case I obtain it, will be my greatest consolation. But that I may attain this end, and put my calling into practice, your Reverence, together with the whole province, will, as I ardently beg, obtain this for me from God by your Masses and prayers, and with this in view I present my respectful compliments and remain

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ,

JOANNES RATKAY,

Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Father Johannes Maria Ratkay was born on May 22, 1647, in Pettau (Styria) of a noble family and served for a time as page at the Court of Leopold I. He entered the Society of Jesus November 13, 1664 and died, poisoned by the Indians, November 9, 1684 (al. December 26, 1683). His only writings are the two letters, Nos. 28 and 29, in the *Welt-Bott*, of which the above is the translation of No. 29.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY
MISSIONARY TIMES.

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

QUINN, REV. EDWARD A.

Father Quinn, born May 25, 1857, in New York City, made his preparatory studies at St. Michael's Latin School, and completed the College course at St. Francis Xavier's with the class of 1876. He entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, in July, 1877, and on June 11, 1881, was ordained to the priesthood in Troy. In 1881 and 1882 he was assistant at St. Michael's Church, then for some years a missionary priest in the diocese of Portland, Maine. In 1886, June to October, he was at St. Columba's. In 1890 and 1891 he was at Wilbur, Ulster Co., being transferred thence in October to St. Andrew's. In March, 1893, he was appointed to the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, Fordham, and, in 1894, to the Immaculate Conception, East Fourteenth Street. In the following year he succumbed to an attack of pneumonia, departing this life at 10.29 A.M., Sunday, March 24. The Requiem Mass was celebrated by Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J., assisted by Father Lonargan, deacon, and Father P. Clancy, subdeacon. The Vicar-general, Rev. Father Mooney, V. G., preached the sermon, and Monsignor Farley pronounced the absolution.

ABRUZZI, REV. O.

Father Abruzzi, or Abruzzo, was assistant to Rev. Eugene Maguire, at St. Paul's, Harlem, from 1866 to 1868.

FREY, REV. BONAVENTURE, O.M.CAP.

(See RECORDS AND STUDIES, volume iv, 1906, pp. 54-96.)

Father Bonaventura was superior of St. Michael's, Brooklyn, in 1900; of Holy Cross, Wauwatosa, Wis., from 1900-1902; of St. John the Baptist's, New York, 1902-1903; of Sacred Heart, Yonkers, New York, 1903-1904. In November, 1903, he fell seriously ill, but was well enough to celebrate the

fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, May 25, 1904, though immediately afterward he was sent to California for his health, and later to New Orleans. In 1906 he lost the sight of one eye. Thereafter he was a confirmed invalid, varying his residence according to the physician's recommendation. However, he was able to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his reception into the Order (December 2, 1907). After this he rapidly grew worse, became totally blind, but retained to the end his clearness of mind. He bore all his sufferings with exemplary patience. He expired peacefully on the 4th of July, 1912, in Detroit, Michigan. The funeral ceremonies took place in the monastery chapel at Detroit in the presence of throngs of his brethren and of the Bishop of the diocese, Dr. Foley. His remains were taken to Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin, July 14th. He was interred (July 17th) after a Requiem celebrated by the provincial, Rev. Antoninus Wilmer, at which Archbishop Messmer pronounced the eulogy.

McCAULEY, REV. JOHN J.

Father McCauley, a native of New York City, was baptized November 21, 1843. On the completion of his studies at Troy, he was ordained to the priesthood there by Archbishop McCloskey, November 30, 1866. He was successively assistant at St. Bridget's, 1867-69; at St. Teresa's, 1869-72; pastor at Montgomery and Balville, Orange Co., 1872-74; at St. Stephen's, July 1874-77; at St. Joseph's, 1878-79; at Holy Cross from March 14, 1880 to December 6, 1886. After the death of Father Newman he was pastor of St. Francis Church, Mt. Kisco, and in December, 1887, he became assistant at St. Joseph's, Yonkers. In 1890 he was appointed Rector of Warwick and Florida, and departed this life March 2, 1893.

MC CREADY, RT. REV. MGR. CHARLES.

Mgr. McCreedy was born in 1837, at Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, made his theological studies at Maynooth and at Mt. St. Mary's. After his elevation to the priesthood, August 17, 1866, at the hands of Archbishop McCloskey, he was assistant to

Father McMahon at St. John the Evangelist's, 1866-69; at St. Andrew's, 1869-71; and from 1871 to 1877 at St. Stephen's, attending Bellevue Hospital also. Upon the death of Father P. McCarthy in 1877, he was made Rector of Holy Cross Church, where he accomplished much for the spiritual and material welfare of the parish. He paid off the debt of \$90,000, decorated and enlarged the church, saw it consecrated March 21, 1886, and began to build a parochial school in 1887. In March, 1891, he was made a Missionary Rector, and in March, 1904, Domestic Prelate of Pope Pius X. He died April 9, 1915.

PACILIO, REV. LEO, O.S.F.

Father Pacilio formed the Italian congregation in New York City, leased an old Methodist church in Sullivan Street, and had it dedicated under the invocation of St. Anthony of Padua, April 10, 1866. After some years Father Pacilio became a secular priest and returned to his native city of Naples. In 1877, when Archbishop Corrigan met him there, he was a canon of the Cathedral of Aquino, under the jurisdiction of Mgr. Persico, formerly Bishop of Savannah, Georgia.

COLE, REV. JAMES THOMAS.

Father Cole was born in 1840, and was ordained a priest September 30, 1865, by Archbishop McCloskey. He was assistant to Rev. J. Kinsella, Rector of Westchester and Mount Vernon, and when the parish was divided in 1872, became Rector of Mount Vernon. He built there the handsome church of St. Matthew, now called the Church of the Sacred Heart, and his achievement was looked upon by all as a brilliant success. His death occurred July 16, 1890.

MULLEN, REV. MICHAEL.

Father Mullen, a talented alumnus of Maynooth, sometimes wrote over the pen-name "Clonfert," from the diocese to which he had been attached before coming to America. He was professor of Philosophy in Troy, 1865-66, and assistant to Father Donnelly at St. Michael's in 1867. He left soon after for the Chicago Diocese, and died in 1869.

THE LUDWIG-MISSIONS-VEREIN

*Discourse of the Rev. Dr. Paul Kagerer on the occasion of the
Fiftieth Anniversary of the foundation of the Ludwig-
Missions-Verein, at St. Michael's Hofkirche in Munich,
December 3, 1888.*

Translated by Miss C. Cornelia Craigie.

Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae. Mark. xvi, 15.

"Go ye into the whole world," He said, "and preach the gospel to every creature."

When our divine Saviour had completed the work of redemption, He returned to His Father from whom He had gone forth. Before leaving the earth, however, He assembled His apostles and disciples, once more explained to them the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, and gave them a mission such as had never been given before and never will be given in the future, a mission which only the Lord of the Universe could give. "Go ye into the whole world," He said, "and preach the gospel to every creature." In accordance with this mission, says St. Mark, the apostles and disciples went forth and preached everywhere, while the Lord gave His aid and confirmed their doctrine by miracles.

When the apostles and disciples sealed the truth of the word of God, preached by them, with their blood, and departed from this earth, other heralds of the faith, endowed with apostolic authority and power, came forward in their stead. They journeyed from city to city, from nation to nation; no distance was too great for their zeal, no obstacle insurmountable; no sacrifice, no difficulty, not even martyrdom and death, could dismay, nothing deter them from the fulfilment of the duties of their apostolic office. In the long list of these bearers of the tidings of salvation from apostolic times down to our own day, a place of special distinction must be accorded to St. Francis Xavier.

For the space of ten years, 1542-1552, he spread the Gospel in Japan and India with such burning zeal and such marvelous success that he gained to Christ thousands upon thousands of souls, and justly won the title of Apostle of the Indies. We look up to him with admiration, and the whole Catholic world honors him, not only as a saint, but also as the example and model of all missionaries, the patron and protector of missions throughout the world. The Ludwig-Missions-Verein of Bavaria also recognizes and honors St. Frances Xavier as its patron and celebrates his feast each year in this church with great solemnity. Gladly and in great numbers the Catholics of Munich join in these festivities. To-day, however, the Ludwig-Missions-Verein not only celebrates the feast of its great and holy Patron, but, after fifty years of existence, solemnizes its own Jubilee. Full fifty years have indeed gone by since it was founded. The Association itself and its many members can look back over this fruitful period of its activity with hearts overflowing with gratitude, for many and great have been its achievements for God's glory and the salvation of immortal souls, for the extension and lasting establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth. At the end of half a century of usefulness, it seems but proper to cast a backward glance at the foundation and development of the Association, and to call to the attention of the world of to-day that which has been done up to the present toward the accomplishment of the work to which it is devoted. Counting upon the grace of God and upon the aid given me by the accounts of the history and achievements of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein which have thus far been written, I shall here attempt to give a brief summary of them and of the work mapped out for the future.

I

In the year 1828, a priest from North America arrived in Europe and endeavored to excite the compassion of the old world for the people of the new, languishing in the darkness of heathenism, error and unbelief, and to obtain their aid in the Christianization of North America. He was the Vicar-general

of the Bishop of Cincinnati, Ohio, and future Bishop of Detroit—Frederick Rese. In France, his efforts were especially fruitful and were crowned with great success, for they led to the foundation¹ of the great work of the Propagation of the Faith, now extending over the whole world. He came to Munich also. King Ludwig I, a true son of the Church and full of zeal for the Faith, having listened to Father Rese's appeal, approved over his own signature, November 27, 1828, the collection of funds throughout Bavaria for the benefit of the North American missions. The fund collected, however, was small, amounting in ten years, that is, up to December 1, 1838, to only 19,035 gulden, 40 kreuzer (\$7,652.23), which was given to the Bishops of Cincinnati and Detroit. As a result, the establishment of a Bavarian association on the model of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was proposed. By a rescript of July 17, 1838, King Ludwig I approved of the establishment of a missionary association, and permitted it to be called the "Ludwig-Missions-Verein," after his own name, constituted himself its Protector, and on December 12, 1839, gave his sanction to its Statutes.

According to these Statutes, the objects of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein were as follows:

1. The spread of the Catholic faith among heathens and unbelievers, especially in Asia and North America;
2. The support of the religious and educational institutions needed for this purpose, as well as of the missionaries who consecrate themselves to this arduous and dangerous work;
3. The support of the Fathers (Franciscan) at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the maintenance of the Holy Sepulcher itself.

The Association was originally to be confined to Bavaria. In 1848, however, the archdiocese of Freiburg-im-Breisgau was united with it, and has labored in union with Bavaria to the present day. For this fidelity and for its generous contribu-

¹ Others, however, give a different account of the foundation of this Society.—C. G. H.

tions to the objects of the Association for a period of forty years, we desire to return our warmest and most sincere thanks to the archdiocese of Freiburg. In 1851, the diocese of Rottenburg (Württemberg) also joined the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, but the connection did not last long and was soon dissolved.

The Association had been in existence but a short time when the necessity became apparent of spreading its activity beyond Asia and North America and of extending it to Europe and particularly to Germany. For hardly had the Association begun its work when petitions for help began to be received from all quarters. Thus from its earliest years the Ludwig-Missions-Verein provided generous support for poor missionary villages and stations in the German Diaspora territory, that is, those provinces and section in which the Catholic population is greatly outnumbered by the non-Catholic.

The requests from these territories increased so much from year to year that the Central Directors of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, on motion of the German episcopate, February 16, 1865, decided that henceforth one-third of the funds collected annually should be allotted to Germany, and that one-half of this third should be reserved for Bavaria. This resolution won the approval of His Majesty the Protector, King Ludwig I, the more so because, sympathizing with the needs of the Diaspora territories, His Royal Highness had with lavish generosity repeatedly given large sums to the German missions out of his private revenues. On April 22, 1877, this resolution, which required a modification of the Statutes, was formally given the royal approbation.

An event of the greatest significance for the prosperity and development of the Association was the rescript of his Majesty, King Maximilian II, May 5, 1862, granting it a legal existence, placing it in a position to accept donations and legacies and to be named an heir. The establishment of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein began immediately to bear fruit. As early as 1839, the amount of its receipts reached 55,226 gulden (\$22,200), which in the following year, 1840, increased to 98,371 gulden (\$39,545). In spite of numerous obstacles, of the hard times,

of the constantly increasing demands on Catholic generosity and charity, the amounts collected by the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, with few exceptions, have not only remained at the same high figure, but, during the last ten years, have continually mounted up until, in 1887, was reached the highest amount so far received, 486,322 marks (\$121,580.50).

The total sum distributed by the Ludwig-Missions-Verein during the past fifty years amounts to 10,753,673 marks (\$2,688,418.25). This large sum is a brilliant testimony to the lively faith and tireless generosity of the Catholics of Bavaria and of Baden. In their efforts in favor of the missions, Bavarian Catholics have, to be sure, a shining model in their great king, Ludwig I, who not only during his life was the powerful friend, patron and benefactor of all missionaries and missionary works, but even after his death desired to take an active part in the Ludwig-Missions-Verein. By a royal decree of October 26, 1863, Ludwig I, "actuated by the wish," to use his own words, "to continue even after his death to further the interests of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein," set apart the sum of 100,000 gulden (\$40,200), enacting that the capital should be held intact as an endowment, but that the yearly interest should be applied to the missions.

In accordance with the Statutes of the Association, the country which has received the most generous assistance, particularly for the first twenty-five years, is North America. Without counting the traveling expenses of the missionaries and Religious sent to that country, its missions have received the total amount of 3,339,343 marks (\$834,835.75). The fact that many great and glorious works have through this means been brought into being and firmly established is proved by the grateful testimony of the united North American Episcopate at two Plenary Councils, and by the individual expressions of gratitude of bishops, missionaries, religious foundations and settlements. Without the support of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, the Catholic Church in North America would hardly be to-day in that flourishing condition on which we can congratulate it especially in the older dioceses.

In 1846, a simple Benedictine monk from Metten, the now well-known Abbot Boniface Wimmer, crossed the ocean to establish the Benedictine Order in North America. It was our ever remembered King, Ludwig I, who in his far-seeing wisdom gave the impulse, and also with great generosity part of the necessary funds, for the establishment of St. Vincent's Monastery in Pennsylvania. Aided by generous contributions from its royal Protector and from the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, the new monastery developed into the now flourishing St. Vincent's Abbey. When death ended the useful career of Abbot Boniface, December 8, 1887, there came to mourn at his bier not only the monks of St. Vincent's, but also three bishops, who had gone forth from his monastery, as well as four abbots and five priors, all owing their offices to him. Actively engaged as they are in saving souls and in propagating Catholic instruction and education, these monasteries lavish upon the whole of America blessings which become daily more widespread, and of whose abundance God alone can judge. Their influence is of the highest importance for culture and civilization and for the religious and moral development of the territories in which they are situated, and far beyond.

On July 1, 1847, led by their Superior-general, Theresia Gerhardinger, six Poor School Sisters from Bavaria sailed for North America, to establish across the ocean one more home for their recently founded congregation. Again, it was King Ludwig I who suggested the foundation, and who contributed 23,000 gulden (\$9,246) toward the establishment of the convents in Milwaukee and Baltimore. One year later (1848) eleven more Sisters followed, and, from the first three small convents at Marysville, Pittsburgh and Baltimore, two large mother-houses, with 182 branches, have now developed, in which 1,694 Sisters give instruction, care and training to more than 60,000 children, of which 1,755 are orphans. This truly magnificent energy and progress which, like a mighty river, sends its revivifying waters over all America, owes its being, after the grace of God, principally to the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, which has so generously contributed to the needs of the Poor

School Sisters. Equally munificent has been the aid which it has given to the Capuchin, Franciscan, Carmelite, Redemptorist, Ursuline and Dominican foundations in North America which are Bavarian in their origin, all of which look upon the Ludwig-Missions-Verein as their strongest and surest support. Lack of time compels me to omit further details in this connection.

Not only North America, but all parts of the world owe to the Ludwig-Missions-Verein generous gifts and rich blessings. Contributions to Asia and Southern Europe reach the sum of 2,000,000 marks (\$500,000). For the maintenance of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and for its custodians, an additional sum of 515,000 marks (\$128,750) has been expended, as provided for by the Statutes.

During the last twelve years, 188,022 marks (\$47,005.50) have been contributed to the African missions. While Australia has not been assisted with such large amounts, considerable sums have nevertheless been contributed to her missions, as, for example, the traveling expenses thence from Vienna of many Jesuit missionaries. The total sum accorded to missionaries for traveling expenses to various countries amounts to 604,029 marks (\$151,007.25).

Early in its history, the Association turned its attention to the missionary countries of Northern Europe—Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the North Pole. During the last twenty-five years, its contributions to these countries have amounted to 146,398 marks (\$36,599.50).

The first assistance given by the Ludwig-Missions-Verein to the German Diaspora territory was for the mission station of Celle in 1839. Each year a further sum was given, and during the last twenty-five years a total of 930,627 marks (\$232,656.75) has been donated to the North German Diaspora. During the same period, the missions in the Bavarian Diaspora have received as their share 791,878 marks (\$197,969.50).

These figures excite in us a twofold sentiment, one of astonishment at their magnitude and generosity, and one of thankfulness—of sincere thankfulness to God, from Whom comes

every good gift and Who has given to the Ludwig-Missions-Verein so many friends and benefactors, and of heartfelt thanks also to all those who, by their donations have helped to make up this magnificent amount. The Ludwig-Missions-Verein has become a source of the richest blessing for the whole world, and a source also of every grace and blessing for Bavaria itself. Through it, the names Bavaria and Munich have become renowned, honored, respected, throughout the world wheresoever beat Catholic hearts. The overseas policy inaugurated fifty years ago by King Ludwig I and the Ludwig-Missions-Verein has been brilliantly justified. It has brought salvation and benediction to the whole face of the earth, and particularly to Bavaria itself. For surely Almighty God, Who rewards a hundredfold every gift given for love of Him, will repay in time, and still more in eternity, with the most precious gifts and favors, the millions sacrificed for His glory and the propagation of His holy name.

Catholic Bavaria may look upon its Ludwig-Missions-Verein with justifiable pride. But in considering the results thus far achieved, it must in no wise be content, satisfied that it has at last accomplished enough. On the contrary, these glorious results must spur it on to consecrate to the Ludwig-Missions-Verein its love, its active participation, and its encouragement, even more fully in the future than in the past, for the task which it is to accomplish, far from being less at present than it was at the time of its foundation, is even greater.

II

The sphere of activity of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein grows daily wider. If we look into the needs of our own Fatherland, we find even in Bavaria very sad conditions. The same is true of the entire German Diaspora territory outside of Bavaria. The spiritual and material want in which Catholics live and languish in many places is incredible. On the erection of a school, a church, or other building designed for satisfying spiritual needs, often depends the salvation of a whole community, to say nothing of its future generations. The simple com-

mandment of charity should induce us to give help according to our means to our poor forsaken brethren in the Faith. One glance at the conditions in a poor, abandoned Diaspora community would suffice to fill the spectator with the deepest sympathy and compassion. Surely the thought that thousands of our fellow Catholics in Germany, and particularly in Bavaria, will be lost to the Faith and to eternal happiness if we do not assist them will inspire in us a renewed interest, animate us to more generous sacrifices.

Northern Europe offers a great and widespread field for the missionary. Shall the harvest fail to be gathered in because we have refused to lend our aid?

In America, many dioceses are for the most part in excellent condition, but certain parts of the same dioceses are still in the very first stages of development. In these places everything is lacking; poverty reigns. It suffices for me to say that even the bishops themselves must face poverty and want, and are not always fortunate enough to procure for themselves suitable clothing. The Ludwig-Missions-Verein, even of late years, has been obliged repeatedly to provide clothing for bishops and missionaries, that which they had having become worn and unsuitable, the means to replace them being entirely lacking.

In the Orient, in Asia and in Australia, new mission fields are continually being opened up. What can be accomplished there if the necessary means are forthcoming a recent example will show. Six years ago a large sum of money (11,200 marks: \$2,800) was by a special donation placed at the disposal of the Armenian Catholic Patriarch in Constantinople. At the end of six months he wrote:—"I think it my duty to inform you of the disposition I have made of your generous gift. By its help I was enabled to found four new mission stations, the success of which has been prodigious. Three of the places where stations were established have returned with their entire population to the bosom of the Church, and the greater part of the fourth has done likewise. An event such as this has not been heard of since the separation of the Eastern from the Western Church."

Conditions in Africa are similar to those in Asia, and on account of its German colonies, the Christianization of the former continent is of special interest to us. At the present time a powerful movement to put an end to the shameful slave trade is taking place in Europe. We hail this movement with thankful hearts and sincere rejoicing, but we are certain that the end can be achieved only with the aid of the Catholic missionaries. Were it feasible to send out a hundred or more zealous missionaries and several hundred Sisters, equipped with the means necessary for the accomplishment of their work, their success would be far greater and more telling than if 10,000 soldiers should be despatched into the countries in question and a dozen battleships, armed with death-dealing cannon, should steam into African waters. The influence of physical force is but passing and cannot win lasting success. The influence of Christianity alone, which teaches us that every man is an image of God, can bring about a change for the better in the frightful conditions which obtain in the interior of Africa. The simple foundation of colonies and settlements will never win the people of this foreign land to civilization and culture. As has already been proved by melancholy examples, this course often leads to the annihilation or ultimate extinction of the aboriginal races, since the object of the newcomers is not the advantage of the original inhabitants, but the advancement of their own interests. The desire for gain, for wealth and possessions, has inspired their coming, and this desire of its very nature tends to bring about the supplanting and the oppression of the natives. The messengers of the Faith, on the contrary, come for the sake of the natives themselves, and far from desiring to oppress them, bring gifts for them, the gift above all of the soul-satisfying teaching of Christianity, with all its graces and blessings. The natives well know how to value it. When, a few weeks ago, a revolution broke out in a certain part of the German East African possessions, and flight became necessary for everyone of German birth, not only were the German missionaries and Sisters not molested, but were even visited by the native chiefs and implored not to forsake them.

Christianity alone can bring culture, civilization, morality. Hence the only true pioneers for the civilization for the peoples of the earth are the missionaries, Heaven's messengers, who announce and bring to men the peace of God, which was first proclaimed by the angels above the fields of Bethlehem and brought to us by Jesus, who died for us upon the Cross. Oh, let us not delay to take part in this noblest of all struggles! The way is easy if we will but become members of the Ludwig-Missions-Verein. Let each of us contribute his mite, according to his strength and his circumstances. Give joyfully to the missions gifts which will promote the spread and the firm establishment of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth! Thus the Ludwig-Missions-Verein will be enabled to carry on its noble work more perfectly, bringing salvation and benediction to all those who are beneficiaries of its gifts, and benediction, salvation and an eternal reward to all those who make the gifts possible. May the Ludwig-Missions-Verein, then, grow and flourish and prosper for the honor of the Triune God, for the benefit of the Holy Catholic Church, for the salvation of immortal souls, and for the undying glory of Catholic Bavaria. Amen.

MILWAUKEE IN THE YEAR 1851

LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP JOHN M. HENNI¹ TO THE CARDINAL
PRINCE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA

MILWAUKEE, January 14, 1851.

. . . The city of Milwaukee is situated on the shore of Lake Michigan in the valley of the Michigan River, a far from limpid stream inhabited by scores of frogs. The site of the city, whose streets, however, are for the most part not built up and show many vacant lots, is marshy. It is impossible, therefore, to construct cellars under the houses. Most of the buildings are wooden hovels raised on piles two feet from the ground so that hogs may conveniently tramp about underneath. There are few brick houses. Lots, by speculation, have risen to from \$200 to \$1,000. A plain wooden building one story high can be erected for \$700. One would think that many workmen would find employment in building these houses; but this would be incorrect. All materials required from the ground to the roof come ready-made from the factory. The flooring comes already planed; the windows are delivered with the panes inserted in the frames and the doors provided with locks. In short, everything is machine made and few men are required to put together the separate parts. Carpenters are found neither here nor in any other part of North America because the joiners can easily put together the buildings from the ready-made material. Such wooden houses are often seen traveling through the streets, that is to say, if an American thinks that his house does not bring him sufficient return in the place that it stands, he puts it on rollers and pushes it to a more promising location. He has moved, as the neighbors will say. During the removal which sometimes lasts a week, the owner continues to reside in his home. Rents are pretty dear. \$1.50 is paid for an unfurnished

¹ From the reports of the Leopoldine Society. Heft 24 p. 36ff.

room. Furniture is quite expensive. A table costs from \$4 to \$5; a bedstead from \$6 to \$8 and a chair from .50 to \$2. Food is cheap, 12 to 15 cents per meal; a cup of coffee costs 9 cents and if you prepare it yourself 3 cents.

There are many Germans here, so that German is spoken in almost every store, in every business and hotel. Life is quite rustic. Everybody is interested in his neighbor's circumstances, his family affairs and religious convictions and strives to become acquainted with them. Even strangers are questioned on these matters.

There are twenty churches or meeting houses here which belong to various sects, such as Methodist, Episcopal, Calvinist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Evangelical, Bible Christians, etc.

The American factories are interesting, especially on account of their simple and ingenious machinery. It is true that in this regard as well as in all other affairs a certain superficiality is found which cannot be compared with German precision and thoroughness. However, we have here a progressive spirit of invention and what is new in Germany has long been discarded or improved here. While in Germany a machine is built to last twenty years, it is useless here after a few years and the American provides himself with a new one and in doing so applies all improvements made elsewhere.

In Milwaukee, artistic taste is still in its infancy. Artists are not to be found here and would find no demand. Of architecture there is not a trace. Rapidity, not beauty nor solidity is aimed at. In three weeks, the American will finish a two-story frame house, that is to say, a hovel built of boards and planks, and in six weeks he will complete a brick house. The soil being, as remarked, swampy, one reaches water after digging down two or three feet; cellars are found only on the hills. On this swampy bottom only planks are laid and the walls are built on this. The consequence is that such houses often show cracks in every direction within three weeks. The American does not mind this, for as long as it doesn't break apart he is satisfied. Of real architecture there is not the faintest suspicion, although every house is built in some architectural style. A frieze or a

couple of Dorian pilasters nailed up against a frame house is looked upon as an ornament in Greek, Italian or oriental style. To succeed as an architect here, one must at the same time be a builder, i.e., one must have money enough to carry out the building one's self. In fact, to succeed here, one must be provided with the necessary capital or one must be a mechanic who establishes himself in business with some resources. The farmer feels happy provided he earns his daily bread, possesses some cattle and a hovel. His produce he cannot usually turn into cash, but he disposes of it by barter, which is a very usual thing. In cash transactions one generally is given a 33 per cent. rebate.

I will add a few words about taxes. People speak of the low, easy taxes as a special reason why trades should progress rapidly and the farmers become wealthy. Many paint an imaginary picture of freedom from taxes which, however, is not met with here. In the State of Wisconsin the law is as follows: Citizens of our State, Wisconsin, are taxed according to property and income. An alderman visits each citizen in July and requires him to state his income on oath and proceeds to estimate all the real estate and houses. According to the result, the business man or house owner is taxed 4 or 5 per cent. and the farmer 1 or 2 per cent. Retail merchants, who besides their business have some property, pay as much as \$30 per annum. Our apothecary, for instance, paid for his business, house and land, \$100. Of these amounts 5 per cent. goes to the governor and the officials, 5 per cent. to the military that number not more than 10,000 men in each State. The rest is devoted to the upkeep of the roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, etc.

It will probably interest you to learn the prices of various victuals and necessities of life, tools and the like, in order to be able to compare with similar prices in Europe. In Milwaukee, for instance, board in a boarding-house is quoted at \$2-\$3 per week; tenements in a lodging house \$10-\$16 monthly; rice 5 cents per pound; coffee 8-12 cents per pound; a loaf of wheaten bread 5 cents; one quart of beer 3 cents; one lemon or orange 5-7 cents; beef 6 cents per pound; pork 4 cents per

pound; veal 3 cents per pound; wheat 40-50 cents per bushel; butter, 15 cents per pound; a load of kindling wood .75-\$1.50; bricks, 4x2, \$4-\$7 per 1000; shingles \$2.25 per 1000; lime 43 cents per barrel; cast iron \$4 or \$5 per ton; bricklayers receive \$2 a day; hod carriers \$1.00; cigar-makers .75-\$1.00; a machinist \$1.50-\$2.00; clerk \$1.00-\$2.00; a cart with team \$2.00.

As far as the religious condition is concerned Milwaukee has 20,000 Catholics with four churches and a fifth is building. Five years ago, I undertook the erection of St. Mary's Church under great difficulties and with God's blessing I completed it. German immigrants thronged to Milwaukee and after a year the present churches do not accommodate more than half the people. Consequently, we were obliged to build a second church, the frame church of St. Gall. For this purpose, I selected the fifth ward, because it is still sparsely settled and the lots were still cheap both for the church and for the immigrants. Before long many Catholics settled here also, and joined the new congregation. A third church was needed, Holy Trinity. It was 220 feet long and 80 feet wide and is a brick structure. The site cost \$700, and it was estimated to cost \$9,000. To pay this I looked to the generosity of the Catholics, there being no other resources. The church is completed so as to allow services to be held in it.

To be continued

BOOK REVIEWS

PIONEER LAYMEN OF NORTH AMERICA. By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. 2 vols. 8vo.

In the author of these volumes, the members of the United States Catholic Historical Society will greet an old acquaintance and friend. Often have they met him in the pages of the "Historical Records and Studies" from the first volume to the present day and again at the meetings of our Society as a lecturer. Moreover, we have had the pleasure of admiring his literary and historical skill in reviewing his able volumes, recording the achievements of the Pioneer Priests of North America, to the merits of which several editions testify even more effectually than the warm words of praise that came from the pens of the critics. The announcement of these new tomes, therefore, was equivalent to the announcement of a new success.

Father Campbell's latest work is marked by the same merits that we commended in its predecessor. It impresses us by its earnestness, its vigor and its industry. It is evidently a labor of love. Throughout there is the same ring of conviction that impresses upon the reader the author's sympathy with virtue, with honesty and with courage. As always, we feel the skillful strength of an experienced writer, willing and able to give merit its due. Withal our author conquers our ready confidence by his laborious diligence. In his pages, the reader makes the acquaintance of the best and most reliable authorities. He has not been satisfied with consulting the English written sources and the French, but he has made an exhaustive study of his heroes in the very homes of their exploits. Hence the freshness of his narrative, that often makes us feel as if we listened to the recital of an eye-witness. Hence, too, the eloquent praise of what the writer regards as honorable achievement and the scornful condemnation of what he disapproves.

If we scan the list of his pioneers and examine the quality of their works, we must agree that he has picked out an array of characters interesting by their deeds and attractive by their romantic careers. We should not do full justice to Father Campbell were we to conceal that almost throughout, he faces great difficulties arising from the contradictions found in his authorities. They occur in many of the stories he has recited to us. Naturally the critic being less familiar with the details of events, is unable to give a verdict in every debated case.

The gallery comprises fifteen greater and many lesser portraits. Of these our readers being acquainted with Pierre Esprit Radisson, Le Moyne d'Iberville and John McLoughlin, through the pages of the "Historical Records and Studies," need no introduction. They have doubtless enjoyed their stories as told by Father Campbell here. The remaining twelve they may judge in part by the excellences of the three specimens so kindly prepared for our pages. The twelve, however, merit their attention in the highest degree. There is nothing monotonous or tedious either in their careers or in our author's presentation of the same. They are a body of remarkable men, explorers, navigators, soldiers, statesmen and governors and many of them gentlemen and Christians; for Father Campbell has no sympathy with men whose careers he does not approve of in the main. As we peruse the volumes, we become aware not only of a great variety in their vocations but also in their origin. With the exception of Menendez and McLoughlin, it is true, they are all of them Frenchmen, at least by descent, but they represent many of the old provinces of France and many stations in life, though the soldiers seem to be in the plurality. Some of the most attractive characters and those most deserving of respect are natives of Celtic Brittany, such as Cartier and Champlain. We must not fail to mention that the simple mariners and the adventurous *coureurs de bois* compel our sympathy no less than the soldier and the noble.

It needs no saying that here is not the place to enter into details about each single biography. This would require more space than we have at our disposal. We can do little more

than mention the names of the pioneers, many of whom, no doubt, are known to our readers. Jacques Cartier heads the list, the earliest French explorer and a mariner who deserves the respect of all who admire pluck and perseverance. The article on Menendez the founder of St. Augustine, offers much more than it promises. For his story is preceded by a recital of French Huguenot endeavors to take possession of parts of the Western continent. Samuel Champlain follows, the founder of Quebec, the discoverer of the lake named after him, a pious Christian gentleman who is the special favorite of our author.

Under the caption Charles La Tour, the reader will find the true tale of Acadia, or, as it was originally called, Cadi. We are all acquainted with Longfellow's version of the cruel fate of the Catholic Acadians. But many of us will learn with surprise that in its origin, Acadia was a Protestant French colony. Maisonneuve, the founder of Montreal, was a chivalrous French gentleman, full of the best intentions and achieving great success, though at times we cannot acquit him of illustrating the old principle that to err is human. The varied career of Charles Le Moyne, who saved Montreal and rendered many services to Canada, will no doubt be appreciated by the readers of Father Campbell's pages. His son, who bore the same name as himself, and is distinguished from him by the soubriquet of "de Longueuil," passed his life in Canada. However, his career was perhaps no less useful to his native province and no less worthy of record. Another Canadian, Nicholas Perrot, follows. Of plain origin and beginning his life as a *coureur de bois*, he was a plucky man, able and resourceful, for whom the author breaks a lance in defending him against the charges of his enemies. The picture painted for us of the Comte de Frontenac, one of the French governors of Canada, offers no little room for controversy. Clearly there is no agreement among Canadian historians old and new, as to the real merits of the governor. Father Campbell's picture of him is amusing, if not edifying. We cannot do justice to it in a few pages or lines and we shall therefore leave the reader to satisfy his judgment in the pages of the author. The same remark applies to the

following biography, that of the celebrated La Salle, whose story is a series of Chinese puzzles.

Le Moyne de Bienville is our next hero. The fourth of the Le Moynes, the brother of d'Iberville and the founder of New Orleans. Like all the other Le Moynes, he was a man of energy. He was persecuted by misfortune and his merit is greater than his success. The last of the new lives is that of Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye. He was the hero of two hemispheres, a soldier, fighting against the English in Belgium and one of the earliest explorers of the Far West.

Father Campbell's lives are not only a record of bravery, energy, pluck and piety but also a source of entertainment. He has succeeded in accumulating a great store of adventures and religious devotedness. It will certainly afford pleasure and satisfaction to everybody that likes enterprise, adventure and piety.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

II

ST. NIKLAUSBOTE. ORGAN DER ST. NIKOLAUS GEMEINDE, New York. 1909-1913. 4to.

To the Reverend John A. Nageleisen, Rector of the oldest German church in New York, we owe a bound copy of the *St. Niklausbote* for the years 1909-1913. This periodical belongs to a class of publications which have become more frequent during the last twenty or twenty-five years. In the city of New York and probably in many other larger cities it has been found useful to publish monthly bulletins of parish churches recording the most interesting events of the past month and announcing besides the feasts, fasts and other church information, the principal events expected to take place during the next four weeks. At times also these booklets give to the members of the congregation the financial news of the parish as well as information about social matters, the parochial schools and other features of parish life.

While these journalistic outgrowths of parish activity have of course chiefly a utilitarian purpose and especially interest

the parish in question, we readily admit that they have also a historical interest, which may be more or less pronounced according to the character of the pastor, the parish and the editor. In some of them, the doctrinal interest is paramount, in others the liturgical, while others again lay more than usual stress upon the financial interests of the parish. Many of these features appeal only in a limited way to the historian, even the Church historian. Other publications, on the contrary, contain much information which in course of time may or will be of great use to the historian. The Catholic Church is a historical organization. Its doctrine and much of its customs and discipline are not at all or little liable to change. But those of us who have passed mid-life can remember many changes in the customs and activity of our parochial life. Some may remember when Christmas was celebrated, even in the city of New York, with but little of the pomp to which we have been accustomed for forty or fifty years back. I myself remember that the last Mass in St. Peter's, Barclay Street, was celebrated at nine o'clock and that the community in general knew little of Christmas as a home festival. The essentially Dutch features of New Year's day have passed away to a great degree. The holydays of obligation have become gradually less numerous and perhaps more solemn. New devotions have been introduced and perhaps some old ones have disappeared. New societies flourish and older ones are struggling for life. In short, even in the Church service there is no such thing as stagnation. But there is also much variety and new life in other departments of Catholic church life which we think of as less strictly in this field. For instance, the parochial school must claim the attention of every observer of Catholic life. The great number of Church societies, from the purely devotional to the benevolent and the useful, cannot fail to strike the student of Catholic history. Again in this cosmopolitan age and in this country, where the races and nations of the world appear before the observer in kaleidoscopic picturesqueness and variety, notable changes present themselves before the eye and we may add, the ear, from decade to decade. Not only the chants but also the vestments

differ in Italian and German congregations, but even much more in Western and Eastern churches and the singing of English hymns marks the progressive Americanism of the pastor or the congregation. We have far from exhausted our litany of ecclesiastical changes, but have said enough to prove the contention that our parishes are making history from year to year, from century to century.

But to come to the *St. Niklausbote*. It certainly presents many features of historical interest not only to the members of the parish but also to Catholics in general. In the first place, it makes us acquainted with the type of parish which, while not common, is far from exceptional whether in the Metropolis or in the country. St. Nicholas' parish, originally exclusively German, as we learn from the *St. Niklausbote*, has come to be the home of Germans and Irish and of various Slavic peoples. It presents an object lesson teaching us the varied composition of our city population, which to our knowledge is by no means confined to New York or even to the larger cities. It presents the spectacle of many nations dwelling together in harmony and impresses on us the lesson that the Catholic Church is a wonderful agent for unifying the most diverse races. These are brought together not only at the foot of the altar but in the school. In the Sunday school, which in 1908 numbered 88 students, the majority, of course, are German. But we also find a far from inconsiderable number of other nations and races. Our readers will thank us for the following specimens—they will easily recognize their nationality: Belensky, Kopolski, Belski, Hladik, Plusensky, Rogniro, Mauro, Senko, Gonasun, Canney, several Smiths and Schmitts, Nolan. The Germans present us along with the vulgar Roths, Müllers, Gross and Wolfs, such uncommon names as Prinz, Mangold, Teufel, Jungbluth, Schumann, Miesel, besides the questionable Monday, Gaudy, Frank and John Mary. If we left the Sunday school, we might come upon still more unusual specimens.

The *St. Niklausbote*, we take it, began its career immediately after the appointment of Father Nageleisen as Rector of the church. Consequently it throws but little light on the early

history of the parish. Our readers may learn something on this point from Mr. Meehan's article on Father Raffener and Father Zaplotnik's sketch of Father Leviz. The *St. Niklausbote*, however, does not fail to throw random lights on the former members of the congregation. In 1909 a school association was founded by the former pupils of St. Nicholas' school and among its members, of course, we meet with many of the older attendants of the parish. A glance at its roll teaches us that St. Nicholas' has given to the Metropolis such well-known citizens as Judge Leonard Giegerich, Justin Herold, Charles J. Schirmer, Joseph Frey, Alphonse Koelble, Michael C. Gross, Senator C. A. Stadler, the Hon. Ambrose Petri, Joseph M. Adrian and F. X. Zwinge. Of course, on this list do not appear the clergymen St. Nicholas' has given to the Church. But its last number pointedly reminds us that foremost among them is the present distinguished Archbishop of Chicago, Monsignor Mundelein. Of the rectors of the church, we meet the name of Father Nageleisen only. If his predecessors displayed the same lively activity as he, no one will charge the pastors of St. Nicholas' with being of the Rip Van Winkle order. The rest of this article will bring the proof of this assertion. The twentieth century rector will largely be judged by the number of societies that he has called into life and St. Nicholas' can surely not fail to be satisfied with the array and variety of its associations. They number fifteen at least and we fear that we have missed some. Their aims embrace everything that can be connected with Church activity. These associations comprise men and women, old and young, benevolent and social organizations, devotional, charitable and educational societies. A careful examination of the pages of this *Niklausbote* has even revealed to us that under the name of Christian Mother's Sodality is concealed a successful *Kaffeeklatch* organization. One thing fills us with surprise, and we shall add with pleasure, that we find in the litany no company of church beggars. It requires no little imagination to conceive how many sides and interests of Church, social and financial life is covered by these brotherhoods and societies.

We next find information about the Sunday and parochial schools and what, for want of a better term, we may call their alumni association. What we have said above about the membership of the congregation is largely drawn from the information presented here on the composition of the schools. One thing we may add. That the number of scholars shows a marked decrease in comparison with former years, but persons familiar with the changes in the neighborhood of St. Nicholas', must surely be prepared for this. In fact, it is surprising that the school attendance does not reveal an even greater decrease, for while the membership of the parish cannot measure the great movement of the population in the neighborhood of the church, inasmuch as many of the old members remain faithful to the congregation despite their having sought new homes, the same is not true of the school attendance. We find many families equally represented among the older and the more recent scholars which leads us to infer that the instruction given in the schools must be satisfactory and the disciplinary conditions attractive.

The school conditions naturally lead us to remark that the church furnishes to its members the advantages of a circulating library. Why these should be confined to the youthful and the fair, as the title *Jungfrauen Bibliothek* suggests, we cannot understand. Surely our boys stand fully as much in need of education and culture after leaving school as our girls. It may be surmised that the former devote more of their leisure time to sport and amusement than the latter, though we may think that the boys stand in need of a greater variety of information than their sisters.

From the school we pass to the choir. The editor wisely abstains from furnishing us with criticisms of the prima donnas and other artists. We say wisely, for a different policy might not be in the interest of peace and art. Withal, one of the most interesting and useful articles in the *Niklausbote* deals with the choir or rather with the question of Catholic choirs in view of the *Motu Proprio* of Pope Pius X. We refer to the letter of Archbishop Messmer to Professor Singenberger on the question

of the ladies in Catholic choirs. It contains a clear, succinct and commonsensical statement of the Archbishop's opinions on the vexed question and must dispel a great many doubts in the minds of scrupulous lovers of musical art.

The *Niklausbote* also deals with several questions which are peculiar to periodicals catering to non-English congregations. The existence of such bodies is the result of needs that cannot be supplied in churches whose services are conducted only in the vernacular tongue. It is natural that parishes having a common language and in a way common interests should be allied together by special bonds. It does not therefore surprise us that the societies dealing with common Church interests in the same language should seek to strengthen themselves and their interests by a closer union. The relations of Catholics of various nationalities among themselves have worked for union rather than for separation throughout the history of the country. We do not, therefore, fear that the alliance of national groups will lead to anything disturbing the Catholic harmony and peace; the less so as we find no disposition in the spirit of these societies to meddle with one another.

We have purposely left to the last our mention of the parish finances, for as a historical organ we prudently decline to deal with the poetical and other literary attractions of the *Niklausbote*. The part of this journal devoted to Mammon pleases us in two respects: First. It is not overdone, so as to create the impression that the Catholic congregation is a money temple which would be out of harmony with the Founder of Christianity. Second. It avoids the undignified scolding tone which may be proper for the fish market but not for the church. Third. The accounts furnished the congregation, while not descending to petty details, enable the members of the congregation to understand the real state of the finances. We learn that while the parish enjoys no remarkable prosperity, which under the present circumstances cannot be expected, it is not threatened with distress or bankruptcy. We heartily congratulate the Rector that he can dispense such accounts as donations, subscriptions and house rents. They are a capital remedy against spare pew rents

and meager collections. All in all, we congratulate the oldest German parish in the city on its healthy spiritual and temporal condition.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

III

LIFE OF REV. CHARLES NERINCKX, PIONEER MISSIONARY OF KENTUCKY AND FOUNDER OF THE SISTERS OF LORETTO.
By Rev. W. J. Howlett. 8vo. 1915.

In this volume Father Howlett presents us with a valuable contribution to American Church history. It is a book attractive on account of its subject and on account of the manner in which the author has treated it. He has not only given us a full picture of his hero, but has given us the story of his time, and of his merits, both in his native and in his adopted land, in such a way as to make the narrative both clear and attractive. He has added another figure to the stalwart pioneers of Kentucky, a worthy, able and zealous man whose work deserves to be known far beyond the limits of the State. We welcome Father Howlett's volume and hope that it will meet with the reception to which it is entitled.

Next to Father Badin, the Rev. Charles Nerinckx is the most interesting of the early missionaries of Kentucky. In our present number, Father Howlett gives us the first continuous life of the zealous and able missionary who delighted to call himself the Proto-priest of the United States. Father Nerinckx with Bishop Flaget and M. Badin complete the trio whose names make up the history of Catholicism in Kentucky's early days. The Bishop and Father Badin were Frenchmen and products of the Society of St. Sulpice. Father Nerinckx was a Netherlander and an alumnus of the Seminary of Malines. The three missionaries did their self-imposed work with equal zeal and ability. But, as we shall see, Father Nerinckx's way of performing his task was marked by distinctly personal and national characteristics. He was the eldest son of most worthy parents. The father was a successful physician. The mother, Petronilla

Langendries, a lady who showed her practical piety by raising a family of six or seven children, all but one of whom gave their lives and services to the Church at a most critical period.

Charles Nerinckx was born in 1761 and much of his manhood, therefore, fell within the wildest days of the French Revolution. He was educated at the Seminary of Malines, ordained November 1, 1785 and appointed as an assistant at St. Rumold's Cathedral. His zeal and ability at the end of eight years secured for him the rectorship of the parish of Meerbeek (1794). His appointment coincides with the period when the Netherlands became the victim of French revolutionary fury. The clergy were bidden to take the oath to the French Constitution, that is to say, an oath to disobey their most sacred obligations to the Church and the Holy See, under the penalty of exile and death. Nerinckx soon showed that he was not the man to break his vows of obedience. He was consequently obliged to flee from his residence at Meerbeek, but for several years stayed in the vicinity performing his pastoral duties as far as he could and thus keeping his faith to his flock and his God. At last, the times became still more threatening and to escape imprisonment and death, he was forced to retire to a convent at Dendermonde where his aunt was a nun and afterwards superior. This seems to have been a place of refuge for many priests in distress, and a center from which they sallied forth to bring the consolations of religion to all the faithful of the neighboring district. When in 1801 Napoleon Bonaparte's Concordat relieved the worst tension for the French clergy on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance, Father Nerinckx, after studying that document, decided that he was unable to comply with its terms. Therefore, though he might have resumed the quiet possession of his former parish, he concluded that his fatherland was no longer an acceptable place of residence. For some time he had felt a call to become a missionary, and at the time the United States was the most practical place to carry out his determination.

We cannot help giving a special credit to Father Howlett for the luminous manner in which he draws the trials of the

revolutionary period and we may add that these same qualities characterize the narrative of Father Nerinckx's American life. His preliminary picture of religious conditions in Kentucky is life-like. It furnishes the reader not only with a list of the names of clergymen and of the churches they built but portrays for us a life among their rude but earnest flocks and the author forces us to give him our confidence by offering the very best of sources, most frequently the correspondence of Father Nerinckx himself. We see spread before us in a life-like manner the hardship that awaited the faithful clergymen of a hundred years ago. His practical lack of home and its comforts, his missionary trips extending sometimes over hundreds of miles with none of the modern conveniences, no roads, no carriages, no railroads, no hotels and with the scantiest comforts which well-meant but poverty-stricken hospitality could offer. We see the priest solitary and left to his own resources, so to say banished among a class of men rude and unsympathetic, unable with all their good will, to supply the social needs of a well educated, university-bred man, and who regarded animal strength as the foremost claim to respect. Fortunately Father Nerinckx was a powerful man. When required he was able to meet inconsiderate brutality with the necessary vigor and firmness. In truth, Father Howlett's story, while strictly a narrative of Church life at the beginning of last century, offers many charms of wild romance.

Father Nerinckx arrived in Baltimore in 1804 and was immediately detailed by Bishop Carroll to aid the veteran Kentucky missionary, Father Stephen Badin. The latter had established himself at St. Stephen's and thither Father Nerinckx betook himself to take his first lessons in his new work. He resided among the Maryland emigrants to Kentucky who since Boone's days had emigrated in considerable numbers to the "Blue Grass State." They were sturdy, zealous Catholics, trained by the Jesuit Fathers in their Maryland home. But this training contributed not a little to make the task of their new pastors troublesome. The Jesuits, in their settlement on the eastern shore, had not only not demanded any support from

their poverty-stricken flock, but when needed had aided them. Badin and Nerinckx were poverty-stricken themselves. Their claim for the support of themselves and their church was made to poor farmers unaccustomed to pay a salary to their pastors. Neither Badin nor Nerinckx was greedy. Both of them begged hundreds of dollars from their European friends to help build and decorate churches for the congregations of the Kentucky missions. Nerinckx, moreover, was a man who felt the need of something more dignified for a church than a block house. Though he spent a large part of his salary for the necessities of his parish, he felt obliged at times to make vigorous appeals for money to his parishioners. These were not always appreciated by the spoiled children of the Jesuit farms. On the other hand, Father Nerinckx was all that the kindest father could be to his spiritual children and he was especially beloved as a spiritual director and confessor. At the same time he had brought with him from Meerbeek a strict idea of Church discipline. We cannot do better than to transcribe the picture of parish life established by Nerinckx at St. Stephen's, which Father Badin had relinquished to his new confrère. We find it in a report on his missions written to Bishop Carroll in 1807, which in some ways will be a revelation to the modern Catholic:

"I called your attention in my last letter to the spiritual gains lately obtained. They consist principally in the growing number of Catholics who settle in this region, and the moving away of non-Catholics. New churches are rapidly multiplying and the old ones are enlarged and embellished. There is also a marked improvement in our graveyards, in which I have every adult's grave adorned with a cross five feet high, and every child's with one three feet high, which the relatives of the deceased must have in readiness when I perform the burial services. Every Sunday and holyday after Mass I go in procession with the choir to the grave of the last deceased, where we sing the *Miserere* or the *Dies irae* in English, at the close of which I give a short talk on death, or prayers for the dead.

"One great pastime of our population consists in racing—the horses running for prizes—and they take great delight in it. It is often attended with fatal accidents, and is the source of much sin. It is hard to keep our Catholics from these amuse-

ments, but they have given up balls and dances, which are, however, very frequent among non-Catholics.

"Here, like everywhere else, it was the custom to run out of the church immediately after Holy Communion. I have remedied this sad indifference toward the holiest of our mysteries by assembling all who approach the Holy Table, and reading aloud acts of thanksgiving, followed by the recitation of the Rosary to gain the indulgences.

"I might also mention that I have at present twenty persons, white and black, under instruction who desire to join the Church. I have received several this year. Five or six couples who were married out of the Church have begged to be admitted to public penance.

"Owing to the preparatory exercises which I introduced, First Communion is received with much more devotion than heretofore, and the number of persons who attempt to marry those of other denominations or of their own kindred is greatly diminished. None are admitted to the wedding feast except parents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts. No cousins or strangers except the witnesses can attend. And as they used to object here, as everywhere else, that Jesus and Mary attended the wedding of Galilee, I have insisted in not excluding these holy persons, and as a consequence, I direct the bride and groom to say aloud, with all those present at the feast, the whole Rosary immediately after sunset, and most of our Catholics are faithful to my injunction. I must tell you about our procession on the octave of Corpus Christi of this year. It is the third one we have had at Holy Cross Church within a year and a half; I have it regularly in my own congregation.

"Three men on horseback headed the march, the middle one carrying a silk flag surmounted by a large cross, the other two carrying huge green branches of trees. Another man, in the dress of an acolyte, followed them with the processional cross, and heading the double row of people, consisting of boys and girls and grown-up people, marching two and two, carrying green branches instead of torches, and forming a line three miles long. Many non-Catholics were present. At distances of twenty paces a leader marched between the lines saying the Rosary, which all answered aloud. The canopy, which I made myself, was borne by four men immediately over the Blessed Sacrament, followed by fourteen armed men led by a uniformed sergeant. Three other men, also uniformed, with drawn swords, brought up the rear, and held back the surging crowd following and saying the beads. Choirs of men and women sang hymns

alternately in honor of the Blessed Eucharist, until we reached the residence of the Trappists, where a repository had been erected. Father Badin, assisted by two Dominican Fathers, officiated and I acted as master of ceremonies. A squad of horsemen, acting as marshals, saw that everything proceeded in an orderly manner, and everything passed off with more decorum and piety than the most enthusiastic had dared to anticipate. Our rites and ceremonies exert a powerful influence upon the sectaries, many of whom are favorably impressed by them, and are led to investigate the claims of the Catholic Church on their allegiance, and are led into the fold.

"Lent is kept very strictly, lard is allowed in the preparation of food every day, but we abstain from meat the first four days of Lent, the entire Holy Week, and Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays of every week. This year we were dispensed on Mondays.

"Every night and in every house, besides the customary prayers which are said in common the whole year round, even in the houses of mixed religion, they say the Litany of the Saints, and if they cannot read they say the Rosary. Since the New Year we have encouraged our people to assemble together every morning before daylight and say the prayers aloud in common, a pious practice which many follow."

If now we bear in mind that Father Nerinckx's parish extended from near Bardstown eastward to Florida, then southward to Louisiana, along the Mississippi to Detroit and southward by Alleghany and Pennsylvania back to Kentucky, we cannot fail to admire the pastor who even attempted to maintain such discipline over a territory that is to-day ruled by more than twenty bishops and archbishops. In the absence of railroads, automobiles and buggies, the only means of locomotion were his horses, of which he kept a pair. His favorite was the horse Printer, which was known hundreds of miles away from St. Stephen's. Mounted on Printer, he dashed away, whether by day or night, to attend the sick, and very often he and Printer crossed brooks and rivers at the danger of their lives.

Within a year or two of his arrival at St. Stephen's, the Dominicans and Trappists settled in Kentucky. With the latter, Nerinckx was always on good terms. But the Dominicans, whose discipline was more gentle, had at first various contro-

versies with him which, however, through the mediation of Bishop Carroll, were settled satisfactorily. A few years after Nerinckx's arrival in Kentucky, Bishop Carroll felt the need of being sustained in his vast diocese by new bishops. One of these was destined for Bardstown, at that time the chief Catholic town in Kentucky. Surprise has been expressed that the dignity was conferred on Bishop Flaget, Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, the oldest resident missionaries, being passed over. The latter, however, as is shown by a letter to Bishop Carroll, was strongly and sincerely opposed to having the new responsibility placed on his shoulders, and Badin was equally unwilling to accept the episcopal burden. At all events, though Bishop Flaget was not at the time working in the West, he was by no means a stranger there, having been stationed at Vincennes and elsewhere for many years. That Father Nerinckx possessed the full confidence of Bishop Carroll appears from the latter's nomination to be Administrator Apostolic of New Orleans, against which the modest missionary protested most loudly. This protest being supported by both Father Badin and the Dominicans, who insisted upon Nerinckx's staying in Kentucky, resulted in the latter's being retained at St. Stephen's. Father Nerinckx therefore remained in Kentucky and worked with more energy than ever. He built new churches and founded new societies.

With the arrival of Bishop Flaget at St. Stephen's, June 4, 1811, begins a new chapter in the life of Father Nerinckx. St. Stephen's became the Bishop's residence and Father Nerinckx removed to St. Charles' Church, near Loretto. He and Father Badin were then the only secular clergy belonging to the diocese. To him was confided one half of the State of Kentucky, a territory which at the present day contains thirty regular parishes. His parochial duties, however, were not the only charge of the zealous pastor. Before the year had passed, he took upon himself a work dear to himself, for which he was eminently fitted and which gave to Kentucky the most popular of its female congregations, the Sisterhood of Loretto. Lack of space forbids our entering fully into the story of its origin.

Suffice it to say, that the first members were the sisters Mary and Nancy Rhodes, Christine Stuart and Mary Havern. The material resources of the new congregation were \$75 and a negro slave, sold for \$450, besides the favor and physical assistance of Father Nerinckx and his parishioners. "Lofts were prepared in the cabins where the Sisters could sleep and the beds of the boarders were laid on the floor of their living rooms at night, and removed to the 'high shelf' in the morning." The rules and principles that were to guide the community were inspired by the lofty but practical Christianity of the saintly Belgian, which were carried out by his protégées in the letter and in the spirit.

Though practising of necessity the greatest poverty, the community grew and flourished in efficiency and in the esteem of its neighbors. Father Nerinckx thought of visiting Europe to beg for his convent and his parishes, but his presence in Kentucky was so sorely needed that he yielded to the protestations of Bishop Flaget and consented to put off his begging trip for three years.

On September 10, 1815, Father Nerinckx started on his long-delayed visit to his home country. On this occasion he addressed to his countrymen a characteristic appeal for help for his flock and nuns in Kentucky which Father Howlett does well to reprint in his biography. It is full of homely eloquence and gives a graphic picture of missionary life in Kentucky. From the Netherlands he made his pilgrimage to Rome by way of Loreto, but outside of Loreto and Pope Pius VII he saw little that roused any enthusiasm in sunny Italy. When he returned he took with him ten volunteers for the missions of Kentucky. However, not one of them reached Bardstown, for, aside from one or two who gave up their vocation, seven joined the Jesuits in Baltimore, and the one that remained faithful died of yellow fever at New Orleans. He was blamed for letting the Jesuits go, but Father Nerinckx did not feel himself justified if he interfered with the vocational call. He was welcomed at Loretto and immediately set to work visiting his parishes, distributing gifts among them and introducing to them their new mission-

ary, Reverend Robert A. Abell, just ordained at the age of twenty-five, whose eloquence became far famed among Catholics and Protestants. The Methodists invited him to preach in their meeting houses and contributed generously to enable their neighbors to build Catholic churches. Father Nerinckx built quite a number of these, and provided them with vestments and paintings, some of which are said to be genuine Van Dycks. At the same time he did not neglect his nuns. He anxiously looked after their spiritual and temporal welfare and for this purpose made Loretto his chief residence.

About this time also, he and Bishop Flaget conceived the project of founding a community of Brothers similar to the Sisterhood that was beginning to have such rich fruits at Loretto and destined chiefly to supply teachers for elementary schools. A collection was begun to provide the necessary funds for the realization of the project but its result, while encouraging, did not furnish the sum necessary for complete success. Nerinckx therefore planned a new visit to Europe with the view to bring assistants of various kinds from the Catholic Low Countries. However, this new expedition was beset with difficulties to which the former trip had not been exposed. But the energetic missionary, though now approaching his sixtieth year, was not to be daunted. He therefore set out to Europe, via Baltimore, on March 7, 1820. In spite of varied obstacles, he brought back many proofs that his influence in Belgium had by no means lessened. Again he returned with money and vestments and art treasures and a number of Flemish volunteers for the mission. These were not intended for the Bardstown diocese, however, but for the Jesuit novitiate at Whitemarsh and ultimately became the basis of the Jesuit Province of Missouri. Father Nerinckx's days in Kentucky after his return from Europe were not free from trouble and disappointment. The scheme of a Brotherhood fell through and his direction of the Sisterhood of Loretto did not escape criticism, which led to changes in the rule, partly dictated by Rome, partly recommended by the friends of the Sisterhood in this country. Withal the Loretto Sisters continued to flourish. Colonies were sent out to numer-

ous stations in the West and we have the word of one of the ablest of Western bishops assuring us that while Father Nerinckx was a zealous, energetic and laborious missionary, his most useful work for Kentucky and the West was the foundation of the Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, usually called the Sisters of Loretto.

Father Nerinckx for reasons not well understood left Kentucky a few months before the end of his life. He went to Missouri and visited his friend Bishop Rosati and the Jesuits. While staying at St. Genevieve he was taken with a violent fever, which ended his life on August 12, 1842.

We close this notice feeling that the picture offered by Father Howlett to his readers is the portrait of a man who devoted his life to the good of his fellow-men, and who, notwithstanding his heroic virtues, shared the fate of his fellow-men by not being perfect.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

IV

JOHN NICOLET

Exercises at the Unveiling of the Tablet commemorating the Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest; held on Mackinac Island, July 12, 1915, under the Auspices of the Michigan Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission.

To Rt. Rev. Mgr. F. A. O'Brien, LL.D., President of the Michigan Historical Commission, we are indebted for the above interesting account of the exercises connected with the unveiling of the tablet commemorating the discovery and exploration of the Northwest, held on Mackinac Island, July 12, 1915. The pamphlet makes us acquainted with some of the leading members of the Michigan Historical Commission, such as Mgr. O'Brien, its President, Hon. Edwin O. Wood, with Mr. John F. Hogan, the chairman of the meeting and William P. Preston, Mayor of Mackinac. The chief part in the exercises, however, was taken by our fellow-member, Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., who worthily represented the United States Catholic

Historical Society. He delivered an address on the hero of the day, John Nicolet, in his happiest style. The biography of Nicolet was worthy of Father Campbell's reputation as a historian and orator, and was greatly appreciated by the notable assembly which met at Mackinac. The lofty moral tone of the discourse lent an additional dignity to a noteworthy occasion.

C. G. H.

NECROLOGY

Since the publication of the last volume of **RECORDS AND STUDIES**, the United States Catholic Historical Society has suffered the loss of a number of zealous and valued members, among them such distinguished citizens as Mr. Thomas M. Mulry, the Hon. Andrew J. Shipman, Mr. Herman Ridder, Mr. Justice John J. Delany, Rev. William L. Blake, Mr. Richard L. Walsh, and Mr. Thomas H. O'Connor. It is with sincere regret that the following brief notes of the careers of these lamented associates are included in the contents of the present volume:

ANDREW JACKSON SHIPMAN

The Hon. Andrew Jackson Shipman, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State, and for years one of the most prominent Catholic lawyers of New York, died on October 17, 1915, at his residence in New York, from Bright's disease, brought on by overwork while a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention. He was born in Springvale, Fairfax Co., Va., on October 15, 1857, the son of John James Shipman. His mother, Mrs. Priscilla Carroll Shipman, was a member of the Carroll family of Maryland. Mr. Shipman received his education in the public schools of Virginia, at Georgetown College, Washington, D. C., where he was graduated in 1878. After a brief experience as the editor of a country paper, he went to Ohio as an official of a coal-mining company, which he left in 1884 for a position in the New York Custom House. While thus engaged he studied law at the New York University and was admitted to the Bar in 1886. His professional success was rapid and substantial. He had a special talent for the acquisition of languages, and made himself familiar with nearly all the modern European tongues and with their literature. He made a special study of topics relating to Russia, Hungary, Galicia, the Greek Church, and the Slavic nations, the Russian language

and its literature, as well as the immigration that comes to the United States from those lands. He visited those countries and the East many times in order to make personal observations, and contributed articles on Russia, Hungary, and the Russian Church and its religious press, the Orthodox Greek Church, and on the Greek Catholics of Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the United States, to the magazines, and furnished articles on kindred subjects to "The Catholic Encyclopedia." He made Greek Catholics known to their fellow Catholics, and was largely instrumental in bringing about the present ecclesiastical establishment in the United States for Catholics of the Greek rite. In 1913 he was elected by the Legislature a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, and was an important delegate of the Convention for the revision of the State Constitution in the summer of 1915. He served for several terms as President of the New York Chapter of the Georgetown University Alumni and his will devised the bulk of his modest fortune for the benefit of his Alma Mater. At his funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral on October 20, the extraordinary privilege was granted of having the absolution of the dead, after the Requiem Mass, given in both the Latin and the Greek rite. In the latter ceremony the Ruthenian Bishop Ortynsky officiated, assisted by a score of Ruthenian and Maronite priests, who thus testified their appreciation of the great services Mr. Shipman had so often rendered to their people.

THOMAS MAURICE MULRY

On March 10, 1916, Thomas Maurice Mulry, who has been not inaptly styled "the American Ozanam," died at his residence, No. 10 Perry Street, New York. Only a short time previously, in November, he had been elected the head of the re-organized St. Vincent de Paul Society of the United States, as President of its Superior Council. For the ten preceding years he had been President of the Superior Council of New York, and for nearly thirty years President of the Particular Council of New York. Mr. Mulry had a national reputation as the foremost Catholic layman in the field of charitable activities as well

as in the financial world. He was born in New York, February 13, 1855, the son of Thomas Mulry, one of five brothers who emigrated from Ireland in 1837. He was one of fourteen children and was himself the father of thirteen. Two of his brothers became Jesuit priests and one of his sons also entered the Order. He attended the local parish schools, and in 1862 was taken to Wisconsin with the family, remaining there ten years. They then returned to New York, where he engaged in the contracting business with his father, their operations including many important public works. Mr. Mulry was elected a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank in 1901, and its president in January, 1906, serving in that capacity till his death. A minute passed by the Board of Trustees of the Bank thus epitomized his career:

"When Mr. Mulry entered the Board of Trustees he was celebrated among the varied groups of the citizenship of this great city as a leader in the charities which have made it famous. He gave to the bank the service of a devoted and able advocate of the charity which it particularly serves, the fostering of thrift among the people.

"He was progressive and wise in considering new methods. He was courageous in carrying into action the results of his careful thought upon the bank's affairs and its circumstances. He brought to them an experience of more than thirty years in large business in this, the city of his birth. He was particularly skilled in the management of many men of every condition.

"His personality gave to the bank an asset of the greatest value. His integrity, his wisdom, his charity, were known to all. The poor trusted him completely. His reputation as a just man was known throughout the nation. His character was gentle and humble. He was beloved by all whom he met in the course of his duties. His advice and assistance were sought by the great and the powerful and by the lowly and the weak alike."

Mr. Mulry was also a trustee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company and a director in a number of other large financial institutions.

In 1908 Pope Pius X created him a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory, and in 1912 Notre Dame University conferred upon him the Laetare Medal, "for his heroic devotion to works of charity extending over a quarter of a century. While actively engaged in large business enterprises and acting as president of a large banking house he devoted half his time for relief of suffering humanity." The Laetare Medal was conferred upon Mr. Mulry at a meeting attended by eight hundred friends and presided over by His Eminence Cardinal Farley.

Mr. Mulry's work in the field of Catholic charities brought him into close contact with all the prominent Protestant and Jewish workers along the same lines, and he had the respect, confidence and friendship of all. So high was his standing in charitable circles that he was elected president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. At the time of his death he was a member of the New York State Board of Charities. Robert W. de Forest, president of the Charity Organization Society, said of him: "I can think of no Catholic who has to so great a degree not only the confidence of his own denomination, but also that of the Protestant community, or at least that part of it which is mostly familiar with practical charity."

Mr. Mulry was a member of the Central Committee of the Charity Organization Society. He was a director of the Ozanam Association and was on the Executive Committee of the New York City Conference of Charities and Correction, and the boards of the Catholic Protectory and Mission of the Immaculate Virgin.

THOMAS H. O'CONNOR

Thomas H. O'Connor died on February 5, 1916, at his residence, 24 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York. He was born at Broadway and Ann Street, New York, on October 15, 1827. His father, Michael O'Connor, was the principal of the O'Connor Latin School, one of the first private institutions of its kind in this city. He started as a clerk with Naylor & Co., of Sheffield, England, in their New York office. Immediately after the discovery of gold he went to California, and there, with his

brothers, Michael J. and John F. O'Connor, and his cousin, James Conroy, founded in 1849 the steel and hardware house of Conroy & O'Connor, which was succeeded by the present house of Dunham, Hayden & Carrigan in San Francisco. In 1858 Mr. O'Connor married Sarah Cochrane Devlin, niece of City Chamberlain Daniel Devlin of New York. Mrs. O'Connor died in 1908, shortly after the celebration of their golden jubilee. In 1864 the O'Connors moved from California back to New York. Mr. O'Connor was for a number of years a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank; a life member in the American Museum of Natural History and of the American Geographical Society. He was the oldest member of the Advisory Board of St. Vincent's Hospital, and was in 1868 elected treasurer and manager of the Catholic Protectory, a position which he held for many years.

REV. WILLIAM L. BLAKE

The Rev. William L. Blake, Director of St. Vincent's Home for Poor and Friendless Boys, Brooklyn, died in St. Catharine's Hospital, Brooklyn, on June 6, 1915.

Father Blake was born in Swedesboro, N. J., on September 13, 1865. He was educated in the Sacred Heart College, Vineland, N. J., and took his seminary course in St. John's Seminary, Brooklyn. Ordained priest on June 1, 1894, he was assigned to St. Patrick's Church, Long Island City. He became Director of St. Vincent's Home in 1899. At that time the work of the Home was carried on in a small private house in Poplar Street. The roomy institution at State Street and Boerum Place to-day, giving shelter, food and clothing to two hundred boys, is the result of Father Blake's labor. The strenuous exertion of his work undermined the health of Father Blake, and he succumbed to a nervous breakdown. Complications set in which he could not withstand.

RICHARD L. WALSH

Richard L. Walsh died on November 8, 1915, at his residence in Brooklyn. He was born on the Island of Guernsey in 1853

and came to New York in early manhood. As a builder and contractor he erected a number of important structures in New York and Brooklyn. He was active for years in the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Marquette League and prominent in every good work that had for its object the promotion of Catholic interests.

JUSTICE JOHN J. DELANY

Justice John J. Delany of the New York Supreme Court died at his residence, in New York City, on July 14, 1915. He was born in New York City in 1860 and was graduated from St. Francis Xavier's College in 1879. He then began the study of law at Columbia Law School, and received his degree there in 1882, taking up active practice at the Bar immediately after. He was a fluent and forceful speaker, and his pleading and public addresses soon attracted attention. His first official position came in 1889, when he was appointed Assistant Corporation Counsel. To him was assigned the work of looking after the negligence cases. He successfully conducted some of the most important that came before the Court of Appeals. Mayor McClellan, in 1903, appointed Mr. Delany his Corporation Counsel. He was reappointed in 1906. He was elected to the Supreme Court bench by the Democratic party in 1910, and was serving with distinction at the time of his death. He was very active in the building up of the Knights of Columbus in New York and was Grand Knight of the Metropolitan district for some time. He was also prominent always in Irish national circles and active in a number of charitable organizations. In recognition of his work in behalf of the Church Justice Delany was made a Knight of St. Gregory by Pope Pius X.

HERMAN RIDDER

Mr. Herman Ridder, who died in New York on November 1, 1915, had been for many years a conspicuous figure in American public life. He was proprietor of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. From the first days of the European war he conducted in his paper a special column in English, "The War Day by

Day." He assumed this task, he said, "not as a German subject, which I am not, but as an American, which I am; not to create ill-feeling among Americans of diverse sympathies, but to allay it." When he died the entire New York daily press, though almost all opposed to his views of the war, were unanimous in paying tribute to him as a thorough American, a valuable citizen of New York and a genial and kindly friend.

Mr. Ridder was born in New York City, March 5, 1851. As a boy he attended the old St. Joseph's parochial school in Leroy Street. His schooldays, however, were ended when he was eleven, for, as his father had died and he was the oldest boy in the family, it was found to be necessary that he should go to work. He became an errand boy in a hat store, but soon after secured a position with a Wall Street firm, where he remained until his thirteenth year, when he entered the employ of the Tradesmen's Fire Insurance Company. His connection with that company lasted for fourteen years, the last seven of which he spent as an agent. In 1878 Mr. Ridder left the insurance business to establish the *Katholisches Volksblatt*, a weekly paper for German Catholics. In 1886 he established the *Catholic News*. Mr. Ridder became a stockholder of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* in 1890, and was one of its directors and the treasurer and manager of the company. These offices he filled until he became the president of the corporation, which office he held up to the day of his death. When the International Typesetting Machine Company was formed Mr. Ridder became its president. Mr. Ridder took an active part in politics as an independent Democrat, and was long an ardent advocate of tariff reform. He was a prominent participant in the Cleveland campaigns and in the various reform movements in New York City. He was treasurer of the Democratic National Committee during the 1908 campaign. He was a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, the German Hospital, and the Catholic Protectory, and a member of the New York City Publishers' Association. He was a director of the Associated Press and for several years was president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. For many

years before his death Mr. Ridder was regarded as one of New York's most public-spirited citizens, and whenever a celebration was under way to honor the city Mr. Ridder was always named by the Mayor then in office, no matter what his politics, a leading member of the committee in charge of the details. Mr. Ridder was an exemplary Catholic layman, interested in every phase of Catholic activity. He was closely affiliated with the St. Vincent de Paul Society and did everything in his power to aid the work of that organization for the relief of the poor. The building containing baths and a dormitory for children of the St. Vincent de Paul Fresh Air Home at Spring Valley was a gift of his, though the identity of the donor was not revealed during his lifetime.

M. J. MADIGAN.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, on Monday, May 8, 1916, the President, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, presiding, about thirty-five members being present. In the absence of Mr. James N. Tully, the Recording Secretary, the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Joseph H. Fargis, acted as Secretary of the meeting. The minutes of the annual meeting of April 12, 1915, were read and approved.

The President, Dr. Herbermann, proposed to membership the name of Rt. Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D.D., Coadjutor Bishop of Baltimore, and he was duly elected.

Mr. Richard S. Treacy read his report as to the finances of the Society and Mr. Thomas Hughes Kelly, Dr. J. Vincent Crowne and Rev. William Livingston, were appointed to audit it.

The President then made a brief address reviewing the work of the Society for the past year and showing the progress of its work and expressing his appreciation of the services rendered by the various members of the Executive Council. He also alluded to the deaths which have occurred in the membership of the Society since the last annual meeting and stated that proper mention would be made of them in the RECORDS AND STUDIES.

The Vice-President, Mr. Stephen Farrelly, who had been named by the President as one of the delegates to attend at the invitation of the New Jersey Historical Society, the celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of Newark, gave a brief account of the opening ceremonies.

The election of officers and members of the Executive Council for the ensuing year then took place and the Secretary read the list of candidates selected by the Executive Council at its last meeting to be presented at the annual meeting and the

President invited the members present to make other nominations if they so desired. No other nominations were made and thereupon, on motion of Mr. James M. Lewis, seconded by Mr. Thomas Hughes Kelly, the Secretary was directed to cast a single ballot in favor of the members so proposed by the Executive Council, and the following were declared duly elected for the ensuing year to the respective offices:

President, CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D.

Vice-President, STEPHEN FARRELLY.

Treasurer, RICHARD S. TREACY, A.M.

Corresponding Secretary, JOSEPH H. FARGIS, LL.D.

Recording Secretary, JAMES M. TULLY.

Librarian, REV. JOSEPH F. DELANY, D.D.

Trustees:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, Rt. Rev. Mgr. John F. Kearney.
V.G. ney.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McRt. Rev. Mgr. Henry A.
Gean, D.D. Brann, D.D.

Thomas F. Meehan, A.M. Thomas S. O'Brien, LL.D.
Peter Condon, A.M.

Councillors:

Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. William J. Amend.
Edward J. McGuire, LL.D. J. Vincent Crowne, Ph.D.
William R. King. Arthur F. J. Remy.

The Vice-President, Mr. Stephen Farrelly, then addressed the members, alluding to the fact that among the deaths which had occurred in the membership of the Society since the last annual meeting was that of Mr. Andrew J. Shipman, a member of the Executive Council, and upon motion of Mr. Farrelly, seconded by Mr. Condon, the President and Secretary were instructed to prepare suitable resolutions to be inscribed upon the minutes.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOSEPH H. FARGIS,

Corresponding Secretary.

FINANCIAL REPORT

R. S. TREACY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

		Dr.	Cr.
1914.			
Balance, Last Report.....		\$13,302.55	
Sale Publications, Feb. 5, '14.....		\$7.52	
" Oct. 22, '14.....		32.00	
Dues, 1908		15.00	
" 1910		15.00	
" 1911		10.00	
" 1912		55.00	
" 1913		135.00	
" 1914		1,380.00	
" 1915		10.00	
		1,659.52	
Int. on Deposits, Jan. 1, 1915:			1,659.52
Emigrants Industrial Bank.....		105.26	
" "		108.78	
East River Savings Bank.....		108.78	
" "		45.96	
Franklin Savings Bank.....		18.13	
Union Square Bank.....		35.00	
Bank of Washington Heights.....		46.64	
		468.55	
Jan. 24 President's expenses, postage and express.....			\$7.55
Feb. 3 Benziger, printing, etc., Three-Quarters of a Century, Vol. 2.....			615.00
" 3 Benziger, two copies Waldseemüller's Cosmo.....			8.00
" 9 Postage and express, Three-Quarters of a Century, 34 Vol.			9.18
" 11 Delmonico's hall and reception for meeting.....			225.00
" 11 J. H. Fargis, waiters at meeting			15.00
" 14 Nelkin & May, printing for Treasurer			5.00
Mar. 31 Benziger, printing and mailing notices Annual Meeting			46.00
" 16 Dr. Pierre Marique, trans. article Pierre Daily.....			25.00
" " Miss B. Herbermann, type-writing			9.40
April 22 Bank of Washington H'gts, returned check.....			5.00
May 7 V. F. Fuentes, translations			11.20
July 14 G. E. Stechert, 1 Vol. "Le-make's Gallitzen," Dr. Herbermann75

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Sept. 26 P. J. Kenedy & Sons, Catholic Directory.....	1.50	
" 26 G. E. Stechert, 1 Vol. Sebastian's "Kit Carson," Dr. Herbermann	2.77	
" 13 Benziger Bros., comp., binding, packing, mailing 739 copies, Historical Records, Vol. 7.....	795.00	
" " Benziger Bros., postage, express on 53 volumes.....	1.52	
" " President's expenses and expressage	7.84	
Nov. 30 E. P. Herbermann, typewriting History Sulpicians...	16.80	
Dec. 23 R. S. Treacy, postage and exchange Treas.....	20.00	
		1,827.51
On deposit, January 1, 1915.		
Emigrants Industrial Bank.....	\$2,549.36	
" " ".....	2,964.09	
East River Bank.....	2,549.36	
" " ".....	1,436.33	
Union Square Bank.....	2,036.00	
Bank of Washington Heights.....	1,234.53	
Franklin Bank	834.44	
		13,603.11
		<u>\$15,430.62</u>

New York, May 10, 1916.

We, the undersigned, certify that we have examined the foregoing cash account and vouchers, and find the same correct and the balances on deposit as reported by the Treasurer to agree with the pass books.

THOMAS H. KELLY

REV. WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

J. VINCENT CROWNE

\$15,430.62

Dec. 1 Benziger, printing, composition and binding, Vol. 8.	995.00
" " Benziger, printing.....	14.50
" 18 Treasurer	23.91

1,292.44

On deposit, January 1, 1916.

Emigrants Industrial Savings Bank.	\$2,852.34
" " " "	2,883.37
East River Savings Bank.....	2,652.34
" " " "	1,494.35
Union Square Bank.....	2,106.83
Franklin Savings Bank.....	863.88
Bank of Washington Heights.....	1,718.45

14,571.45

\$15,863.89

New York, May 10, 1916.

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THOMAS H. KELLY

REV. WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

J. VINCENT CROWNE

\$15,863.89

FINANCIAL REPORT

R. S. TREACY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1915.		1916.	
Balance on last report.....	\$13,603.11		
Dec. 7. Benziger Bros, Sales.....	\$4.00		
Mar. 3. Donation, Rev. D. Coyle.....	2.00		
Dues, 1908	5.00		
" 1909	5.00		
" 1910	5.00		
" 1911	5.00		
" 1912	10.00		
" 1913	35.00		
" 1914	120.00		
" 1915	1,505.11		
" 1916	35.00		
" 1917	10.00		
	<u>1,741.11</u>		
Interests on Deposits, January 1, 1916.			
East River Bank.....	\$102.98		
" "	58.02		
Emigrants Industrial Bank.....	102.98		
" "	119.28		
Franklin Savings Bank.....	29.44		
Union Square Savings Bank.....	71.83		
Bank of Washington Heights.....	35.14		
	<u>519.67</u>		
Mar. 3 Nelkin & May, Treasurer....			5.00
" 29 Miss E. B. Herbermann, typewriting History Sul- picians			20.60
" " President's expenses, sta- tionery and express.....			9.50
April 21 S. Farrelly, Membership Committee			11.75
" " P. J. Kennedy, Catholic Di- rectory			1.50
May 11 Benziger, printing and mail- ing notices.....			30.00
" 12 J. H. Fargis, waiters at meeting			12.00
" " Delmonico, Annual Meeting			81.25
" 16 Benziger, postage and exp.			10.23
June 5 President's expenses, Pul- lis photographs.....			4.00
Aug. 3 P. J. Marique, Clorivière article			23.00
" " August Rupp, letters Father Gilg, S.J.....			26.00
" 10 Photogravure Color Co., plates, Vol. 8.....			10.20
" 27 Mae Hebert, typewriting...			2.00
" " Rev. A. J. Resak, 2 Vols. Diocese Sault Ste. Marie.			10.00

Dec. 1	Benziger, printing, composition and binding, Vol. 8.	995.00
"	" Benziger, printing.....	14.50
"	18 Treasurer	23.91

1,292.44

On deposit, January 1, 1916.

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THOMAS H. KELLY
REV. WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
J. VINCENT CROWNE

\$15,863.89

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